

informed them of a convention, explanatory of the thirtieth article of the last peace, which had been agreed upon between him and the French king; and that he had ordered copies of the several treaties and declarations, before referred to, to be laid before them. Addresses were moved as usual, and after some debates passed *nem. con.*

Early in the sessions Mr. Grenville gave notice to the house, that he should beg leave to propose for their consideration, certain amendments and additions to the bill brought into parliament by his father, for the better regulation of the trials of controverted elections. He thought the present season the most proper for discussing and deciding upon such a subject, when there was no petition complaining of an undue election before the house, and when the minds of the members were therefore perfectly cool, and open to impartial deliberation. Accordingly, on the 6th of May, he moved the house for leave to bring in a bill for the purposes above-mentioned. He exclaimed, in a short speech, the objects which his bill had in view, and the means he proposed for obtaining them. He observed, that when the existing act had passed, the house well knew that the great aim of it had been, to take the trial of petitions on controverted elections out of their hands, and to place them in a committee so constituted as to be most likely to do strict and impartial justice to the parties; that end, it would be agreed on all hands, had been fully answered; but the operation of the act had been attended with certain well-known inconveniencies, to guard against which, sufficient care had not been taken when the bill was in agitation, so much had the attention of the author of it been bent on achieving his main purpose. He had revolved in his mind the most practicable means of removing these inconveniencies, and two modes had suggested themselves; but then, as these could not be effected without very materially altering the most essential forms prescribed by the act, he believed the house would be inclined to join with him in opinion, that it would not be prudent to attempt to meddle with the frame of a law, from the execution of which so many, and such essentially advantageous consequences had been derived. Upon mature reflection, therefore, he had determined to let the forms prescribed by the act remain undisturbed; but there were other inconveniencies, to which the act had given occasion, which might in his opinion, be touched without alarm, and removed without danger of any sort of injury whatever to the general operation and effect of the act. Ever since the bill had passed into a law, it was observable, that an infinite number of petitions, complaining of undue elections, had been presented in the first session of every parliament. Many of those petitions, after having taken up much of the time of the house, had proved frivolous. He should propose, therefore, to empower the committee to adjudge that the party presenting an election petition, that should turn out to be frivolous, should pay reasonable costs, and to empower them in like manner to oblige the party offering a frivolous defence or answer to a petition, to pay reasonable costs. This was merely an act of justice, and yet he added, he believed such a regulation would save much expence to individuals, and much time and trouble to the house. Another very material inconvenience, in his mind, called equally for a remedy, and that was the want of a rule being laid down to establish the rights of election, to ascertain them, and to render them immutable in future. At present, it was no uncommon thing to have two gentlemen sitting in that house as representatives of the same borough, on different rights of election. In order to remedy this, he meant to annex certain provisions to his bill, which he flattered himself would answer the end proposed, and ascertain the rights of election for the future. The bill was immediately brought in, and read a first time, and ordered to be printed; and, after going through the usual forms in both houses, received the royal assent.

The trade carried on by this country, and other Eu-

ropean nations, upon the coast of Africa, for the purpose of purchasing negro slaves, to be employed in the cultivation of the West-India islands, and certain parts of the continent of America, does not appear, till of late years, to have been considered with that general attention, which a practice so abhorrent in its nature to the mild principles of modern policy and manners might have been expected to excite. This may probably have been owing, partly to the distance of the object, which tended both to conceal the sufferings, and to lessen the sympathy of the public for the unfortunate sufferers; partly to the connivance of politicians, unwilling to examine too severely into the necessity of the means, by which distant colonies were enabled to pour luxury and wealth into the mother countries. The first public attempt, we believe, that was made to put a stop to this traffic, was by the quakers of the southern provinces of America, who soon after the establishment of their independence, not only presented for this purpose a strong and pathetic address to their several legislative assemblies, but actually proceeded, as is said, in many instances to emancipate the slaves that were in their possession. In Great-Britain the same sect appears also to have taken the lead, and, after the example of their American brethren, presented last year a similar petition to the parliament of this kingdom. The cause soon after became extremely popular, and was taken up with great zeal and earnestness by various descriptions of people. A society was formed, and a considerable sum of money subscribed, for the purpose of collecting information, and supporting the expence of an application to parliament. A great number of pamphlets were published upon the subject; several eminent divines recommended it from the pulpit and in printed discourses; and in the present session petitions were presented from the two universities, and from several of the most considerable towns and corporations in the kingdom.

In the mean time, his majesty's ministers thought it proper to institute an enquiry, before a committee of the privy council, into the facts and allegations contained in the representations of both parties upon the subject; and the gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) to whom the conduct of the business in the house of commons had been, by a sort of general consent, assigned, having been prevented, by the bad state of his health, from bringing it before the house, Mr. Pitt rose in his place, on the 9th of May, and, after mentioning this circumstance, moved the following resolution, "That this house will, early in the next session of parliament, proceed to take into consideration the circumstances of the slave trade, complained of in the petitions presented to the house, and what may be fit to be done thereupon." He added, that before that time, the enquiry instituted before the privy council would be brought to such a state of maturity, as to make it fit that the result of it should be laid before the house, to facilitate their investigation, and to enable them to proceed to a decision, founded equally upon principles of humanity, justice, and sound policy.

Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke expressed their sorrow on account of the delay that had already taken place, and their extreme dissatisfaction with the reason last given for putting off the business to the next session. They both declared that they were willing and prepared to have undertaken the business themselves, and had given way to another honourable member, not only from a deference of his abilities and his known humanity, but on account of the weight and influence he was supposed to have with his majesty's ministers in that house. They lamented the cause of his absence, but thought that earlier notice might have been given, in order to have enabled the house to come to some decision, as well for the sake of the planters as the slaves, to both of whom the protraction of the business might be attended with infinite mischief. But what called for their more particularly reprobation was, the other argument used as a ground for delay, namely, the expectation of a report from the privy council. Against this doctrine they desired to enter their most solemn protest. It was the duty,

duty, they said, of that house to advise the king, and not to ask his advice. This was one of the most essential principles of the constitution, and could never be departed from without establishing a precedent that might lead to the most fatal abuse. They therefore cautioned the house, as they wished to preserve their functions, their honour, and their dignity, to beware of committees of the privy-council. They lamented that the privy-council, who had received no petitions from the people, should have instituted an enquiry, and that the house of commons, whose table was loaded with petitions from every part of the kingdom, should not have instituted any enquiry at all. If they suffered the business of the house to be done by the privy-council, they were abdicating their trust, and making way for an entire abolition of their functions, which they could not help remarking, the house had of late under the present administration, been too much in the habit of surrendering one after another. If the house neglected the petitions of their constituents, the consequence would be, that the house must be abolished, and the privy-council substituted in its stead; and his majesty's ministers, instead of consulting that house, and giving them an opportunity of exercising their functions of deliberation, would determine all public measures elsewhere, and bring down the edicts of the privy-council to the house to register!

After the abovementioned gentlemen had delivered their sentiments a general conversation took place, in the course of which, Sir William Dolben begged leave to say a word or two, on a matter that, in his mind, was a most crying evil, and called for an immediate remedy of some sort or other. He neither alluded to their sufferings at home from the hands of their cruel countrymen, nor to their sufferings from their unfeeling masters, the planters in the West-India islands, but to that intermediate state of tenfold misery which they suffered in their transportation from the coast of Africa to the West-Indies. He entered into a short detail of the horrors of that dreadful passage, which, he said, was scarcely less fatal in its effects upon the British sailors, than upon the wretched slaves themselves; and he declared himself ready to call evidence to the bar to prove the fact. This, he said, called aloud for a remedy, and that remedy ought to be applied immediately. If they did not apply some remedy without delay, between the present session and the beginning of the next, ten thousand lives would be lost. He wished therefore, that this grievance were taken into consideration, independent of the general question; and that some regulation, such as restraining the captains from taking above a certain number of slaves on board, according to the size of their vessels, obliging them to let in fresh air, and provide better accommodation for the slaves during their passage, and such other regulations as should suggest themselves to the house, should be adopted. This proposition meeting with the general approbation of the house, Sir William Dolben moved the house, on the 21st of May, for leave to bring in a bill to regulate the transportation of the natives of Africa to the British colonies in the West-Indies. The regulations of the bill, he said, would regard the number of Africans put on board each ship, limiting that number in proportion to the tonnage of the vessel, in order to prevent their being crowded too close together; securing to them good and sufficient provisions, and other matters equally conducive to their health and their accommodation. He declared he should not have thought of bringing in a bill at that late period of the session, were he not convinced of the existence of the grievance to a considerable extent, and satisfied, that, by applying an immediate remedy, some thousands of the unhappy persons' lives might be saved before the next session of parliament. There was besides, he said, undoubtedly a possibility, (and a bare possibility was sufficient ground for the argument he meant to state,) that, in consequence of the resolution lately come to by the house, those persons who carried on the branch of the slave trade to which

the bill stated in the resolution referred, might, from the knowledge of the intention of the house to examine the subject of the slave trade fully next session, put the natives of Africa into a worse situation, during their transportation to the colonies, even than they were in before, by cramming additional numbers on board their vessels, in order to convey as many as possible to the West-Indies, before parliament became ultimately to decide what was most fit to be done upon the general subject of the slave trade. Certainly, therefore, the possibility that such a consequence might grow out of their late resolutions, during the intervening months, between the end of the present and the commencement of the next session, was a good and sufficient parliamentary ground for them to provide immediate means to prevent the existence of such an evil, and preserve the natives of Africa from being made to suffer greater hardships in their passage to the West-Indies, for the succeeding months, than they had before been accustomed to.

On the 26th of May, a petition was presented from the merchants and other inhabitants of the town and port of Liverpool, stating, that the suppression of the slave trade would be attended with consequences little short of ruin to many of the petitioners, who, under parliamentary faith, had embarked in the trade, and invested their whole property therein; would be highly injurious to the interest and public revenues of this country; and operate as an effectual bar to future commercial emulation and enterprize; and therefore praying, that they might be heard, by their council against the abolition or restriction of this trade, before any resolutions, or a bill, be passed by the house, upon a subject of so much national importance, in which they are so peculiarly situated, and so greatly concerned. Accordingly on the 2d of June, the house being in a committee upon the regulating bill, the counsel for the petitioners appeared at the bar, and examined several witnesses, for the purpose of shewing that the hardships, alledged by those who brought in the bill, did not exist, and that the reduction of the number of slaves allowed to be put on board each vessel, in proportion to its tonnage, would go the length of ruining the trade altogether. The evidence appears to have had no other effect upon the committee, than that of inducing them to allow, instead of one ton to each man, as was first intended, a small reduction proportionable to the different burthens and accommodation of the vessels. The bill having gone through the house of commons, was carried up to the lords, where it also passed, after having received several amendments; some of which being thought to trench on the privileges of the lower house, a new bill was brought in which passed both houses, and received the royal assent.

While the legislature was thus laudably employed in endeavouring to alleviate the miseries of this unfortunate description of their fellow-creatures, they were not inattentive to the situation of a class of sufferers nearer home. On the 8th of June the chancellor of the exchequer called the attention of the house to the compensation which was intended to be made to the American Loyalists, on account of losses sustained by them in consequence of their adherence to this country during the late American war. He was of opinion, that they could not call upon the house to make compensation for their losses as a matter of strict justice; but they, most undoubtedly, had strong claims on their generosity and compassion. In the mode, therefore, that he should propose for finally adjusting their claims, and the various quotas of compensation that should be made to the various classes of loyalists, he had adhered to this principle, rather than to any strict claim of right. Having premised this, Mr. Pitt stated the different descriptions of loyalists who had preferred their claims before the commissioners appointed to enquire into American claims, and divided them into four classes. In the first class he considered and ranked all those who had resided in America at the commencement of the war, and who, in pursuance of their principles of loyalty and adherence

to this country, were obliged to abandon their estates and their property in America, which were, in consequence, seized and confiscated by the Americans. The next class of claimants included those who, having resided in England during the war, had exhibited claims on the score of the loss of property in America. The next class of claimants, were those loyalists who, having either enjoyed places, or exercised professions, in America, had, by being driven away in consequence of their loyalty to this country, lost their incomes. With respect to the West Florida claimants, he should propose to pay them the full amount of their claims, because they stood in a very different predicament from the American claimants, having, in consequence of a peace, which ceded Florida to another power, and which that house had agreed to, been obliged to quit their habitations and property in West Florida. Having explained the several points, and stated that the total amount of claims was two millions odd hundred thousand pounds, exclusive of the four or five hundred thousand pounds that had been already advanced at different periods, he said he should move a general resolution for the amount of that sum to be issued in debentures, bearing three and a half *per cent.* interest, which would, he thought, be nearly equal to ready-money payment; and he had on a former occasion, hinted his idea of proposing, with the approbation of the committee, that the whole sum should be paid off by instalment, by means of a lottery, till the whole should be cleared. That, however, was matter for farther consideration; it was sufficient for the present to move, "That one million two hundred and twenty-eight thousand two hundred and thirty-nine pounds should be voted to the several American claimants for losses, &c. and one hundred and thirteen thousand nine hundred and fifty-two pounds fourteen shillings and three farthings to the Florida claimants." These propositions, with very little exception, met with the general approbation of the house.

About this time a bill was also brought into the house of commons, for granting to the earl of Newburgh, grandson of the late Charles Radcliffe, and the heirs male of his body, a clear rent-charge of two thousand five hundred pounds out of the estates forfeited by the earl of Derwentwater, and settled upon Greenwich hospital. The hardship of lord Newburgh's case, whose father was an infant at the time that his family were engaged in the rebellion of 1715, had often induced parliament, from time to time, during the late and the present reign, to grant certain sums of money for his relief. In the act passed in the twenty-fourth year of the king, for restoring the forfeited estates, that of the Derwentwater family was not included, but an intention was then declared of making a special provision for the case. The only difficulty that occurred was the diminution in the hospital fund, and it was proposed by some member, that the public should make it good; but this proposition was over-ruled, as also another, to add two thousand pounds to the annuity, and the bill passed as originally framed.

On the 31st of January this year died at Rome prince Charles Edward Lewis Casimir Stuart. Since the death of his father in the year 1765, he assumed the title of king of England. He was commonly known on the

continent by the name of the Chevalier de St. George, and in England by that of the Young Pretender. He was just sixty-seven years and two months old on the day of his death, being born on the 30th of November 1720. He was son to James Francis, prince of Wales, son to James II. His mother was the princess Maria-Clementina Sobieski, grand-daughter of the famous John Sobieski, king of Poland, who beat the Turks near Vienna, and made them raise the siege of that capital, and thus saved Christendom from destruction. She had an immense fortune; a great part of which was lost in the fruitless attempt made by her son, in 1745, to place his father on the throne of England. She had two sons by her husband; Charles, who lately died, and Henry-Benedict, who by his father was created duke of York, and who having been promoted to the purple, has been generally known by the name of Cardinal York. The elder son married some years ago, a princess of Stolberg in Germany; but by her who is still alive, he has no issue. He has left, however, a natural daughter, whom, by his pretended royal power, he created duchess of Albany, and to whom he bequeathed all the property he had in the French funds, which was very considerable: to his brother, the cardinal, he left his empty pretensions to the crown of England. The remains of Charles were buried in the church of Frescati, of which city his brother, the cardinal, is bishop, who went in person to assist at high mass, and perform the last duties at his funeral.

The following very curious and singular circular letter, concerning the English nation, was sent by order of the emperor of Morocco, to all the European consuls resident within his dominions: "In the name of God! To all the consuls; peace to him who followeth the right way. Know ye, that for these thirty years we have observed the conduct of the English, and studied their character; we have always found that they never keep their word. We never could dive into their character, because they have no other than that of telling lies. We are acquainted with the character of other Christian nations; we know that they keep their word; but a nation like the English, of which there is no knowing the character, who know not how to keep their word, and who only can tell lies, does not deserve that we should speak or write any thing to them; for, according to our religion, a lie is the most abominable of all vices. Their ambassador Curtis, told us that he had orders from his court, that the ships built on our slips, and which we were to send to Gibraltar, should be there completely refitted. In consequence of which, we sent those ships to Gibraltar, provided with every thing necessary, and with money; but he sent back our ships, and nothing was done to them: but what offends us most is, that he even sends back the ships which we had sent to conduct them to our brother the sultan Abdulhamed, whom God preserve! After this, it is not necessary to add more. On the 17th of the moon Jumadilala, of the year 1702—that is, February 25, 1788."

On the 15th of April a treaty of defensive alliance between the king of Great-Britain and their high mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, were signed at the Hague*. A defensive treaty between his Britannic majesty and the king of Prussia, was also signed

* The following is a copy of the defensive treaty between his Britannic majesty and their high mightinesses:

"The mutual and sincere friendship which has so long subsisted between his majesty the king of Great-Britain, and the lords the States General of the United Provinces, having been increased and strengthened by the interest which his Britannic majesty has lately manifested in the preservation of the independence of the republic, and of its legal constitution, his said majesty, and the said lords States General of the United Provinces, have resolved, in order to cement in the most solid and lasting manner the good harmony, confidence, and correspondence between them, to form permanent engagements, by a treaty of defensive alliance for the good of both parties, and for the maintenance of the general tranquillity, as well as of their own in particular. To accomplish so salutary a purpose, his

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his majesty the king of Great-Britain has named and authorized Sir James Harris, privy-counsellor, knight of the Bath, member of the parliament of Great-Britain, and his majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to their high mightinesses; and their high mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces have named and authorized their deputies for foreign affairs; who, after communicating to each other their full powers in due form, and having conferred together, have agreed upon the following articles:

1. There shall be a sincere, firm, and constant friendship and union between his Britannic majesty, his heirs and successors, and the lords the States General of the United Provinces, so that the high contracting parties shall direct their utmost attention to maintain their mutual friendship and correspondence between them, and their dominions and subjects;

to Z

and

signed at Berlin on the 13th of August following*.

This year was marked by a calamity which seemed to threaten the nation with consequences of a very direful nature. The health of the sovereign had suffered a gradual decline, a circumstance that was not ascribed to the freedom of indulgence and the softness of luxury;

and they engage to contribute, as far as shall lie in their power, mutually to preserve and defend each other in peace and tranquillity.

II. In case either of the high contracting parties should be hostilely attacked by any European power in any part of the world whatsoever, the other contracting party engages to succour its ally, as well by sea as by land, in order to maintain and guaranty each other mutually in the possession of all the dominions, territories, towns, places, franchises, and liberties, which belonged to them respectively before the commencement of hostilities.

III. His Britannic majesty guaranties, in the most effectual manner, the hereditary Stadtholderate, as well as the office of hereditary governor of each province, in the serene house of Orange, with all the rights and prerogatives thereto belonging, as forming an essential part of the constitution of the United Provinces, according to the resolutions and diplomas of the years 1747 and 1748, by virtue of which the present stadtholder entered into the possession of those offices in 1766, and was reinstated therein in 1788; engaging to maintain that form of government against all attacks and enterprizes, direct or indirect, of whatsoever nature they may be.

IV. The succours mentioned in the second article of this treaty of defensive alliance, shall consist, on the part of his Britannic majesty, of eight thousand infantry, two thousand cavalry, twelve ships of the line, and eight frigates, which respective succours shall be furnished in the space of two months after requisition made by the party attacked, and shall remain in its disposal during the whole continuance of the war in which it shall be engaged, whilst those succours (whether ships and frigates, or troops) shall be paid and maintained by the power of whom they shall be required, wherever its ally shall employ them.

V. In case the stipulated succours should not be sufficient for the defence of the power requiring them, the power to whom requisition shall be made shall successively augment them, according to the wants of its ally, whom it shall assist, even with its whole force, if circumstances should render it necessary; but it is expressly agreed, in all cases, that the contingent of the lords the States General shall not exceed ten thousand infantry, two thousand cavalry, sixteen ships of the line, and sixteen frigates.

VI. But it may happen (considering the distance of several of the possessions of the two high contracting parties) that the advantages, which ought to result to them reciprocally from the conclusion of the present treaty, may become illusory, unless measures can be taken for the mutual defence of those possessions, before their respective governors could receive orders from Europe for that purpose; it is stipulated and agreed, that in case either of them should be hostilely attacked, or even menaced with an hostile attack, in its possessions, whether in Africa or in Asia, by any European power, the governors of their settlements in those parts of the world shall be enjoined to concert together the succour to be furnished, and, in case of need, to furnish such succour, in the most speedy and effectual manner, to the party attacked; and that orders to that effect shall be expedited to the said governors immediately after the conclusion of the present treaty: and in case the two high contracting parties should be obliged to furnish the aforesaid succours, they shall not permit the ships of war, of what nature they may be, of the power attacking, to enter into any of their ports in the aforesaid settlements, until peace shall be restored between the parties attacking, and the ally of the contracting party, unless the said vessels be forced to take refuge there, to avoid perishing, or being shipwrecked.

VII. If it should happen that the two high contracting parties shall be equally involved in a war against a common enemy, they reciprocally promise each other not to disarm, but by common consent; and shall communicate to each other confidentially the proposals for a peace, or truce, which may be made.

VIII. If the high contracting parties prefer furnishing their succours of troops in money, they shall be at liberty on each side so to do; and then such succour shall be computed to one hundred thousand florins, Dutch currency, *per annum*, for one thousand infantry, and at one hundred and twenty thousand florins, of like value, for one thousand cavalry, *per annum*, and in the same proportion by the month.

IX. The power requiring shall be obliged, whether the ships, frigates, and troops, with which it shall have been fur-

ished, remain for a long or short time in its ports, to provide whatever they may want, at the same price as if they belonged to such power itself. It had been agreed that the said troops or ships shall not in any case be at the expence of the party requiring, but that they shall nevertheless remain at its disposal, during the whole continuance of the war in which it shall be engaged. The succours above-mentioned shall, with respect to discipline, be subject to the orders of the chief officer who commands them; and they shall not be employed separately, or otherwise than in concert with the said commanding officer: with regard to the operations, they shall be wholly subject to the orders of the commander in chief of the power requiring.

X. It is agreed, that until the two powers conclude a treaty of commerce with each other, the subjects of the republic shall be treated, in the kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland, as the most favoured nation; and the same shall be observed in the United Provinces towards the subjects of his Britannic majesty. It is, however, to be understood that this article is not to extend to a diminution of the import duties payable upon linens.

XI. Whereas by the fourth article of peace, signed in the month of June, 1784, his Britannic majesty engaged to treat with the lords the States General for the restitution of Negapatnam, with its dependencies, in case the said lords the States General should in future have any equivalent to give; and whereas their high mightinesses have now renewed their request for obtaining that restitution, as well as settling and determining precisely the sense of the sixth article of that treaty, concerning the navigation of British subjects in the eastern seas; his Britannic majesty, in order to manifest his good-will towards the republic, is disposed to concur in these desires of their high mightinesses, and even to secure to the republic additional and real commercial advantages in that part of the world, as soon as an equivalent for those objects can be agreed upon; in return for which his Britannic majesty will require nothing but what is favourable to the reciprocal interests and security of the contracting parties in the Indies; and, to prevent the negociations for such arrangements from retarding the conclusion of the present treaty, it is agreed that they shall be begun as soon as possible, and be concluded in the space of six months from the date of the present treaty; and that the convention to be made thereon shall have the same force as if it was inserted in the treaty itself.

XII. The present treaty shall be ratified on each side, and the exchange of ratifications shall be made in the space of six weeks, or sooner, if it can be done.

Done at the Hague the 15th of April, 1788.

JAMES HARRIS,	(L. S.)
J. W. CONTE DE WELDEREN,	(L. S.)
W. F. H. VAN WASSENAER,	(L. S.)
L. P. VAN DE SPIEGEL,	(L. S.)
GUILLAUME DE CITTERS,	(L. S.)
W. N. PESTERS,	(L. S.)
CHARLES BIGOT,	(L. S.)
M. B. C. VAN VIEREST VAN BORDEL,	(L. S.)

* The following is a copy of the defensive treaty between his Britannic majesty and the king of Prussia:

"Their majesties the king of Great-Britain, and the king of Prussia, being animated with a sincere and equal desire to improve and consolidate the strict union and friendship which, having been transmitted to them by their ancestors, so happily consist between them, and to concert the most proper measures for securing their mutual interest, and the general tranquillity of Europe, have resolved to renew and strengthen their ties by a treaty of defensive alliance; and they have authorized for this purpose (to wit) his majesty the king of Great-Britain, the sieur Joseph Ewart, his envoy extraordinary at the court of Berlin; and his majesty the king of Prussia, the sieur Ewald Frederick count de Hertzberg, his minister of state, and of the cabinet, knight of the order of the Black Eagle; who, after reciprocally communicating their full powers to each other, have agreed upon the following articles:

1. There shall be a perpetual, firm, and unalterable friendship, defensive alliance, and strict and inviolable union, together with an intimate and perfect harmony and correspondence, between the said most serene kings of Great-Britain and Prussia, their heirs and successors, and their respective kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, and subjects, which shall be carefully maintained and cultivated, so that the contracting powers shall constantly employ, as well their utmost attention

parliament, and did not return to the metropolis till the 18th of August. No benefit, answerable to the expectations that had been formed, resulted from this excursion. His health was in a precarious state, and, on the 22d of October, symptoms were observed by one of the royal physicians of that alienation of mind which was afterwards the occasion of so many important transactions. For some time it was thought proper to observe as much secrecy as possible respecting the nature of the king's indisposition. The retreat of the sovereign at Windsor was favourable to this purpose, and for several days an opinion was entertained by the people in general, that his indisposition was a fever, and that it had arisen to so alarming a height as to threaten a speedy dissolution. The real nature of the case, however, could not long be suppressed. By the structure and practice of the English constitution almost every species of public business is in some manner implicated with the royal prerogatives. The administration of political government in particular, was by the present event virtually suspended from its functions; and, notwithstanding the critical situation of Europe, it was now deemed impracticable to return any sort of answer to the dispatches of foreign courts, or of our own ambassadors. In this situation the most natural expedient was to suffer the two houses of parliament which stood prorogued till the 20th of November, to meet at that time, and either adjourn for a short interval, or immediately proceed to discuss the measures it would be proper to adopt at the

present crisis. Circular letters were accordingly addressed to the members of the legislature on the 14th, signifying to them, that the indisposition of the sovereign rendered it doubtful whether there would be a possibility of receiving his commands for the farther prorogation of parliament. In that case the two houses must of necessity assemble, and the attendance of the different members was earnestly requested.

At the meeting of parliament the lord chancellor observed in the house of lords, that the reason of their being thus unusually called together, without the ordinary notice for the dispatch of business, arose from the severity of the king's indisposition, which had rendered it impossible for him to approach the royal person in order to receive his commands. Lord Camden remarked, that the customary practice of giving forty days notice previously to the meeting of parliament, was not in his opinion absolutely necessary. There was an express act of parliament, that limited the notice in case of treason or rebellion to fourteen days; he therefore recommended an adjournment for that term, and at the same time moved, that the chancellor, by order of the house, should address an official letter to every individual peer. Mr. Pitt stated to the house of commons, that every authority had been consulted respecting the present singular situation of affairs; but they did not point out either the possibility of directing a new prorogation, or enable ministers to open the session of parliament in any regular way. Under these circumstances

attention as also those means which Providence has put in their power, for preserving at the same time the public tranquillity and security, for maintaining their common interests, and for their mutual defence and guaranty against every hostile attack; the whole in conformity to the treaties already subsisting between the two high contracting parties, which shall remain in full force and vigour, and shall be deemed to be renewed by the present treaty, as far as the same shall not be derogated from, with their own consent, by posterior treaties, or by the present treaty.

II. In consequence of the engagement contracted by the preceding article, the two high contracting parties shall always act in concert for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity; and in case either of them should be threatened with a hostile attack by any power whatever, the other shall employ his most efficacious good offices for preventing hostilities, for procuring satisfaction to the injured party, and for effecting an accommodation in a conciliatory manner.

III. But if those good offices should not have the desired effect, in the space of two months, and either of the two high contracting parties should be hostilely attacked, molested, or disturbed, in any of his dominions, rights, possessions, or interests, or in any manner whatever, by sea or land, by any European power, the other contracting party engages to succour his ally without delay, in order to maintain each other reciprocally in the possession of all the dominions, territories, towns, and places, which belonged to them before the commencement of such hostilities: for which end, if his Prussian majesty should happen to be attacked, his majesty the king of Great-Britain shall furnish to his majesty the king of Prussia a succour of sixteen thousand infantry, and four thousand cavalry; and if his Britannic majesty should happen to be attacked, his majesty the king of Prussia shall likewise furnish to him a succour of sixteen thousand infantry, and four thousand cavalry; which respective succours shall be furnished in the space of two months after requisition made by the party attacked, and shall remain at his disposal during the whole continuance of the war in which he shall be engaged. These succours shall be paid and maintained by the required power, wherever his ally shall employ them; but the requiring party shall supply them, in his dominions, with such bread and forage as may be necessary, upon the footing to which his own troops are accustomed. It is nevertheless agreed between the high contracting parties, that if his Britannic majesty should be in the case of receiving the succour in troops from his Prussian majesty, his Britannic majesty shall not employ them out of Europe, nor even in the garrison of Gibraltar. If the injured and requiring party should prefer succours in money to land forces, he shall have his choice; and in case of the two high contracting parties furnishing to each other the stipulated succours shall be computed at one hundred thousand florins, Dutch currency, *per annum*, for one thousand infantry, and at one hundred and twenty thousand florins, of the like value, for one thousand cavalry, *per annum*, or in the same proportion by the month.

IV. In case the stipulated succours should not be sufficient for the defence of the requiring power, the required power shall augment them according to the exigency of the case, and shall assist the former with his whole force, if circumstances shall render it necessary.

V. The high contracting parties hereby renew, in the most express terms, the provisional treaty of defensive alliance, which they concluded at Loo, on the 13th of June in the present year, and they again engage and promise to act, at all times, in concert, and with mutual confidence, for maintaining the security, independence, and government of the republic of the United Provinces, conformably to the engagements which they have lately contracted with the said republic; that is to say, his Britannic majesty by a treaty concluded at the Hague, on the 15th of April, 1788, and his Prussian majesty, by a treaty signed the same day at Berlin, which the said high contracting parties have communicated to each other. And if it shall happen that, by virtue of the stipulation of the said treaties, the high contracting parties should be obliged to augment the succours to be given to the States General, above the numbers specified in the above treaties, or to assist them with their whole force. The said high contracting parties will concert together upon all that may be necessarily relative to such an augmentation of succours to be agreed on, and to the employment of their respective forces for the security and defence of the said republic. In case either of the said high contracting parties should, at any time hereafter, be attacked, molested, or disturbed, in any of his dominions, rights, possessions, or interests, in any manner whatever by sea or by land, by any other power in consequence and in hatred of the articles or stipulations contained in the said treaties, or of the measures to be taken by the said contracting parties respectively, in virtue of those treaties, the other contracting party engages to succour and assist him against such an attack, in the same manner, and by the same succours, as are stipulated in the 3d and 4th articles of the present treaty; and the said contracting parties promise, in all similar cases, to maintain and guaranty each other in the possession of all the dominions, towns, and places, which belonged to them respectively before the commencement of such hostilities.

VI. The present treaty of defensive alliance shall be ratified by each party, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of six weeks, or sooner if it can be done.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten, being authorized by the full powers of their majesties, the kings of Great-Britain and of Prussia, have, in their names, signed the present treaty, and have thereto set the seals of our arms.

Done at Berlin, the 13th of August, in the year of our Lord 1788.

JOSEPH EWART, (L. S.)
EWALD FREDERIC COMTE DE HERTZBERG, (L. S.)

it would be highly improper for the house to proceed to the discussion of any public business, and it was absolutely necessary to adjourn. He therefore recommended the interval of a fortnight, when, if the king's illness should unhappily continue, it would be indispensably incumbent upon them to enter upon the immediate consideration of the state of public affairs. Mr. Pitt farther moved a call of the house for the 4th of December, and that the speaker be directed to send circular letters requiring the attendance of every member on that day.

By this expedient the ministers removed the difficulties, which at first presented themselves respecting the legal assembling of the two houses of parliament; but the questions that remained were more essential in themselves, and more likely to interest the passions of mankind. The uniform tenor of all precedents afforded by the History of England, were in favour of a protectorate or regency, under which the whole or a considerable part of the political power should be confided to the next heir to the crown, or to the adult of the royal family most nearly related to the king*. Three modes of proceeding that might be adopted in the present instance, and three forms of executive government that might be employed for the present temporary purpose, appeared evident to the ministry. When king George the First and king George the Second visited their dominions in Hanover, with the expectation of a speedy return, and the power of directing while at a distance the most essential concerns of the crown, they had frequently appointed a council of regency consisting of the principal members of the existing administration. Parliament therefore might either be called upon to nominate such a council, or they might constitute the prince of Wales regent, at the same time declaring that none of his proceedings should be valid unless approved by a council so appointed; or they might constitute the prince sole regent, but under such limitations and restrictions, as should be calculated to supersede as much as possible all important changes, and to prevent him from the adoption of any decisive measures. These three projects are supposed all of them to have passed successively under the contemplation of ministers. The two first were rejected as untenable: the most obvious objection against the last, was, that the government of England was a limited monarchy. It is supposed to have been the project of its institutors, to reserve as many privileges and immunities as possible to the people at large; and to grant no other powers and prerogatives to the monarch than were absolutely necessary to the conducting with dignity and firmness the executive administration. If the prerogative to the king was found to be too extensive, it ought not merely to be taken away from the regent, but to be for ever abolished.

It is impossible not to remark upon this occasion the effect of reputation and popularity. Mr. Pitt and his colleagues in office were in possession of the public favour in a degree, in which perhaps no ministers in the British annals ever enjoyed it for so long a period of time. Upon Mr. Fox and his associates remained a part of that odium which the coalition and the India bill had originally excited. The prince of Wales himself was still less popular. Dissipation and irregularity of conduct seem to be less venial in the estimate of the mass of mankind than almost any qualities that can be named. A rumour had been spread of his having married a lady of the Roman catholic religion, and, though this rumour had been contradicted from the highest authority, it seems still to have been generally believed. Perhaps few persons were seriously apprehensive of an endeavour to abolish the established protestant religion;

but it had been said that the fact itself amounted by statute to a direct forfeiture of all right to the crown; and it was remarked, that, if this statute were not executed, yet the having wantonly trifled in so express an instance with the law of the land, gave us but little hopes of future wisdom and prudence, and right conduct in the person who had so glaringly offended. Thus the unpopularity of one party, and the elevated reputation of the other, led a majority of both houses of parliament to pay less attention to general and constitutional principles than under other circumstances might have been expected.

Upon the re-assembling of parliament on the 4th of December, a report of the board of privy-council, containing an examination of the royal physicians, was presented to the two houses by lord Camden and Mr. Pitt, and it was suggested, that, when the delicacy of the subject, and the dignity of the person in question were considered, parliament would probably perceive the propriety of acting upon this report, rather than of demanding the more direct and ample information to which in strictness they were entitled. In the mean time doubts were suggested by Mr. Vyner, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Burke, whether parliament could, consistently with its privileges and its momentous situation, dispense with that sort of evidence upon which they were accustomed to proceed. These doubts had the appearance of being adopted by a majority of the house of commons, and accordingly administration changed its original design, and it was resolved on the 8th, that each house should appoint a committee of its own members to examine and report the sentiments of the royal physicians. In pursuance of the usual mode of procedure in both houses, the committee of the house of commons was named on the same day, and the committee of the house of lords on the day following. The number selected in each house was twenty-one. The report of the committee was laid upon the table of the house of commons, on the 10th, when a farther proposition was moved by Mr. Pitt, for the appointment of a committee to examine and report precedents of cases, in which the personal exercise of the royal authority had been prevented or interrupted by infancy, sickness, infirmity, or any other cause. Mr. Fox embraced this opportunity of bringing forward an opinion that was of considerable consequence to the cause of the prince of Wales, and which, if admitted, would instantly put an end to those precautions and limitations upon the regency, which it was in the contemplation of ministers to suggest. By that report they had ascertained that the king was at present incapable of the executive government; and it was the firm opinion of Mr. Fox that the prince of Wales had as clear and express a right to assume the reins and exercise the powers of sovereignty during the continuance of the present incapacity, as if his father were actually dead. He did not, however, mean that the prince of Wales could enter upon this exercise at his own pleasure, or was intitled to judge of the circumstances that caused it to be requisite. His right was perfect and entire, but the two houses of parliament, as the organs of the nation, were alone qualified to pronounce when he ought to take possession of his right. He commended the prince of Wales for not bringing forward his claim himself, and choosing rather with patient deference to wait the decision of the parliament; adding that his forbearance and moderation were to be imputed to his having been bred in the principles which had placed his family on the throne, and to his known veneration for those principles as the fundamentals of our constitution. Mr. Fox observed with respect to precedents, that there were notoriously

* We should here observe, that soon after the indisposition of the king had been ascertained, the prince of Wales dispatched an express to Mr. Fox, who was at that time in Italy, requesting his immediate presence to assist him in forming an administration. Mr. Fox arrived in London on the 24th of

November, and the rapidity with which he travelled had been such as to occasion an indisposition, which for some weeks had an alarming appearance. Lord Thurlow assented to become a member of the proposed administration, and the principal offices of state were said to have been arranged.

none that applied to the present instance, and that he could therefore conceive of no just and adequate reason for the proposed delay. The motion for a committee of precedents being at length put, was carried without a division.

A motion for a similar committee was offered in the house of lords on the day following by lord Camden. In the course of the debate on this subject, lord Stormont adduced an argument from the Act of Union concerning the election of a regent, and concluded with recommending an immediate address to the prince of Wales, intreating him to assume the exercise of the royal authority.

The day appointed for the house of commons to resolve itself into a committee on the state of the nation was the 16th, and on the preceding day an ultimate attempt was made by lord Fitzwilliam and others in the house of lords to deprecate the discussion of this delicate topic. The duke of York in particular expressed his wishes that the question might be waved. No claim of right had in fact been advanced by the prince of Wales, and he was confident that his brother too well understood the sacred principles which seated the house of Brunswick upon the throne, ever to assume or exercise any power, be his claim what it might, that was not derived from the will of the people expressed by their representatives. The duke of Gloucester confirmed the declaration of the duke of York. Lord Thurlow spoke with great energy of his sentiments of affection towards the king. The two leading resolutions proposed by Mr. Pitt in the committee upon the state of the nation were entirely of a declaratory nature, the first affirming that the personal exercise of the royal authority was interrupted, and the second, that it was the duty of the two houses of parliament to provide the means of supplying that defect. At length after vehement debates, the house divided, when the numbers appeared, ayes two hundred and sixty-eight, and noes two hundred and four. The third resolution, which was intended by Mr. Pitt to complete the present proceeding, was stated to the house on the same day, but was not regularly debated till the 22d. Its tenor was to declare, that it was not necessary, for the purpose of supplying the present defect, and maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the king, that the two houses should determine on the means by which the royal assent might be given to the bill, which they might adopt for constituting a regency. The object of this proposition was sufficiently obvious. Administration had determined not to confide the regency to the prince of Wales but with certain limitations and restrictions, and they conceived it incumbent upon them to fix those restrictions in the present maimed and defective state of the legislature. They were at present secure of a parliamentary majority, and they did not choose to trust to the influence that might be produced upon that majority by an intermediate change of administration. Indeed the resolution of right had a meaning and tendency perfectly similar to the resolution that followed it. All parties were agreed, that the prince of Wales was the proper person to be nominated sole regent, and that, if parliament possessed a discretion, it would be unwise and unsafe for them to exercise it for any other than this individual purpose. After some debates, when the resolutions passed for the second time under the revision of

the house, an amendment upon the second of them was moved by Dr. Dempster, declaring, that it was the duty of the two houses of parliament to provide the means of supplying the present defect, by presenting an address to the prince of Wales, heir apparent, and of full age, requesting him to take upon himself the administration of the civil and military government during the royal incapacity. The house divided upon this amendment, ayes one hundred and seventy-eight, noes two hundred and fifty-one. The resolutions which had thus been passed were communicated to the house of lords on the following day, and were taken into consideration on the 26th.

Lord Rawdon moved an amendment similar to that of Mr. Dempster in the house of commons, and this amendment was supported by lord viscount Stormont and lord Loughborough. When the house divided upon the amendment of lord Rawdon, the contents were sixty-six, not contents ninety-nine. A protest was entered signed by the duke of York, the duke of Cumberland, and forty-six other peers*.

The 6th of January had been fixed by Mr. Pitt for the period of explaining to the house of commons the restrictions, which he should propose as necessary to accompany the declaration of a regent. This topic was however procrastinated, in consequence of the motion of Mr. Loveden for the appointment of a fresh committee to enquire into and report the state of the health of the king. It may naturally be supposed, that the royal indisposition was at this time an object of considerable curiosity, and that of consequence various and contradictory rumours would be propagated upon the subject. The decree of uncertainty was increased by the opposition and rivalry that had broken out between doctor Richard Warren, one of the principal physicians in ordinary to the king, and doctor Francis Willis, whose original profession had been that of a clergyman, and who had been called in the month of December, as from the practice in which he had for some years been engaged, having particular experience of persons afflicted with the royal malady. Doctor Warren was particularly cautious of delivering any prognostics upon the subject, being unwilling to flatter the public with any delusory expectations; while on the other hand doctor Willis conceived from the first the most sanguine hopes of his patient's recovery, and delivered his opinions with a confidence which was ultimately justified by the event. Doctor Willis, therefore, as was natural, became exceedingly acceptable to the queen; and doctor Warren, by her majesty's interference, was in one instance prevailed upon to sign a report of the sovereign's health somewhat more favourable than he thought in strictness it ought to have been. Such were a part of the reasons that induced Mr. Loveden to propose a new and minute enquiry into the subject; a proposition that was at first resisted by Mr. Pitt, and several other members of the house of commons. At length, Mr. Sheridan moved an amendment upon the proposition for a committee of enquiry, authorising the members not merely to receive the evidence of the royal physicians, but to enquire generally into the nature and state of the king's malady, and the probability of his speedy recovery, and to send for such persons and papers as might conduce to their information. The house divided upon this amendment, ayes one hundred and

* An incident occurred in this stage of the business, that was calculated to render the singular situation of the two houses of parliament more palpable and conspicuous. Mr. Cornwall, speaker of the house of commons, died after a few days indisposition on the 2d of January, 1789. This was a case that fell within the usual sphere of the royal prerogative, it being requisite to proceed to the immediate election of a new speaker, and the person elected not being accustomed to take upon himself the duties of his office, till his appointment had received the approbation of the king. This form it was necessary to dispense with in the present instance, and on the 5th

of January it was moved by lord Euston, son of the duke of Grafton, and Mr. Pulteney, that Mr. Grenville, brother to the marquis of Buckingham, and one of the joint paymasters of the forces, be chosen to supply the present vacancy. By Mr. Welbore Ellis and Mr. Frederic Montagu, in the name of the other party in the house of commons, it was moved, that the speaker to be elected should be Sir Gilbert Elliot, who had lately distinguished himself by the proposed impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey. Upon this question the house divided, for Mr. Grenville two hundred and fifteen, for Sir Gilbert Elliot one hundred and forty-four.

forty-one, noes two hundred and twenty-one. The report of the committee which was thus instituted, instead of being prepared, as was predicted, in a few hours, occupied a period of seven days. The different parties in the house of commons were exceedingly anxious to obtain the most decisive and unquestionable evidence respecting the king's health, and the several political views with which they were inspired strongly enforced the general spirit of curiosity. The report was voluminous, and the physicians underwent the most accurate and severe examination. But, though a considerable degree of intelligence was thus obtained respecting the precise nature and symptoms of the royal indisposition, the treatment he had received, and the conduct of the persons to whose care he was entrusted, yet there do not appear, upon the face of the report, any satisfactory materials, out of which to have formed a judgement respecting the duration of the king's malady; and each side of the house of commons still continued to reason concerning it in the manner most calculated to strengthen their different arguments.

The minister's project respecting the form of government to be instituted, and the measures previously to be adopted by the two houses of parliament, was such, as seemed to render it necessary for them to consider the prince of Wales in no other light in the outset of the business, than as a privy-counsellor and a prince of the blood; and such had accordingly been the principle upon which they acted, till their propositions respecting the decision of the question of right had been ultimately adopted by the two houses of parliament. The next measure it became them to take, was the proceeding by bill, or by resolutions to be made the groundwork of a bill, to provide for the administration of the executive government during the period of the royal incapacity. In this situation they conceived themselves at liberty, and of consequence regarded it as an act of deference and respect, to communicate to the prince of Wales the propositions they intended to offer to parliament upon this interesting subject. A letter was addressed to him by Mr. Pitt on the 30th of December, informing him that it was the opinion of the king's confidential servants, that he should be empowered to exercise the royal authority during the illness and in the name of his father; providing nevertheless, that the care of the king's person and the disposition of his household should be committed to the queen; and that the power to be exercised by the prince should not extend to the personal property of his father; to the granting any office, reversion or pension, except where the law absolutely required it, as in the case of the judges, for any other term than during the king's pleasure; nor to the conferring any peerage, unless upon such persons of the royal issue as should have attained the age of twenty-one years. Mr. Pitt added, that the ideas he had suggested were founded upon the supposition that the royal malady was only temporary, and might be of short duration. It would be difficult to fix at present the precise period for which these provisions ought to endure, but it would be open hereafter to the wisdom of parliament to reconsider them, whenever circumstances might appear to render it eligible. The answer of the prince of Wales is dated on the 2d of January, 1789, and expresses with considerable force the sentiments which he might have been expected to feel upon a similar occasion. Respecting the steps already taken he was silent; but it was with deep regret that the prince perceived in the propositions of administration a project for introducing weakness, disorder, and insecurity into every branch of political business, a project for dividing the royal family from

each other, for separating the court from the state, and depriving government of its natural and accustomed support; a scheme for disconnecting the authority to command service from the power of animating it by reward, and for allotting to him all the invidious duties of the king by station, without the means of softening them to the public by any one act of grace, favour, or benignity. His feelings upon the subject were rendered still more painful by observing, that the propositions were not founded in any general principle, but were calculated to infuse jealousies and suspicion, which he trusted were entirely groundless, among those whose confidence it would ever be the first pride of his life to merit and obtain.

The most singular part of the project of administration appears to have been that for confiding to the queen the power to remove, nominate, and appoint the officers of the royal household, assisted by a permanent council, to be selected by parliament, and to consist in some measure of the members of the present administration. The argument by which the restrictions were defended, was the propriety of taking care, that the king when he should recover, should feel as little mortification as possible from the intermediate transactions, and should be enabled to resume, with facility and certainty, the administration of government. The administration was encouraged in this pursuit of the plan they had formed, by the addresses that were presented to them from various parts of the kingdom, expressive of the gratitude of the persons by whom they were sent, for the assertion which had been made by the house of commons of their right of providing for the present deficiency*.

Mr. Pitt opened his propositions to the house of commons on the 16th of January, 1789. He said, that the report which had just been prepared abundantly confirmed the sentiments he had before entertained upon the subject. He should, however, make no alteration in what he had intended to suggest, and should state now what he had designed to state then, as the ground of their proceedings; that the king's recovery was more probable than the contrary, and that the greatest length to which the malady was ordinarily known to extend was a year and a half or two years, the shortest three months, and the average five or six. Such was the decisive opinion of Dr. Willis, who of all the king's physicians was most entitled to credit, as having had the greatest experience in this particular disorder, and being most constant in his attendance upon his patient. Mr. Pitt adverted to the regency bills of queen Anne, of king George the First, and king George the Second, where, the circumstance in contemplation being a minority, the prospect of a more certain and longer delegation of power was afforded than might be expected in the present instance. In each of these cases, the powers of the crown had been lodged not in one single hand, but in a great variety of persons. He had himself considerable doubts whether these bills were well adapted to the circumstances of the times in which they had passed, and accordingly was firmly of opinion, that the political power should be entrusted by parliament to one individual. But as the delegated authority had in former instances been restricted by the mode in which it was distributed, so he deemed it more especially right in the present, that it should have certain limitations. He reasoned particularly upon the limitation respecting the peerage, and observed, that it could scarcely be maintained, that the want of such an incentive for a few months was likely to deprive the country of the service of its meritorious citizens. The prerogative of creating

* The addresses were presented in the name of the counties of Devon and Dorset, the merchants of the city of London, the citizens of Worcester, Oxford, and Durham, and the towns of Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Nottingham, Taunton, and many other places. In some instances, as in that of the county of Northumberland, the event seems to have

been rather favourable to the members of opposition, and gave occasion to some contest and asperity between the individuals concerned in the house of commons. In the meetings for London and Manchester, the majority was said to be averse to the measure proposed.

peers was of a very delicate nature, since an honour of this sort was permanent, and, when once given, could not be revoked. As an instance of its possible abuse, Mr. Pitt desired to make the supposition of such a confederacy and cabal being formed, as had been convicted a few years since of a design to overthrow the constitution, alledging, that by such persons they might expect the regent to be advised to create so great a number of peers, as would considerably embarrass the crown in carrying on the government, when the king should again be restored to his regal capacity. Mr. Grenville discussed the subject at considerable length. Lord North having taken up the argument upon this occasion retorted upon ministers what they had employed in a former debate. The measure parliament was now called upon to adopt contradicted that wise maxim of our constitution, that the king could never die. The king, it was true, in his individual and natural capacity, suffered a demise, but the political capacity of the crown was whole and entire, and the reason of this maxim was obviously to guard against and prevent an interregnum of imperial power. Ministers had contrived to produce that evil, against which the constitution had so cautiously guarded, and had devised the political death of the crown. Lord North particularly reasoned upon the restriction in the peerage, and other gentlemen likewise opposed the minister's project. Mr. Pitt's project consisted of five propositions. To the first of these, vesting the prince of Wales with the royal authority, subject to such limitations and exceptions as parliament should provide, an amendment was moved by Mr. Powys, the object of which was to confer the exercise of the royal authority unaccompanied by any limitations. This amendment was rejected by the usual majority. Upon the second resolution, relative to the creation of peers, the house divided, ayes two hundred and sixteen, noes one hundred and fifty-nine. The resolutions, that respected the granting of offices for life, and the reservation of the king's real and personal property, were then carried without a division. The consideration of the fifth resolution, respecting the guardianship of the royal person and the government of the household, was adjourned to the 19th, and was attended with some degree of debate; when an amendment was moved by Mr. Bouverie, to separate that part of the resolution which related to the household, and his motion was rejected upon a division, ayes one hundred and sixty-five, noes two hundred and twenty-nine. A motion of lord North for confining the operation of a resolution to a limited time was rejected by a similar majority. A similar amendment was offered by Mr. Pulteney to limit the regency and the restrictions generally to the term of one year, and Mr. Pitt observed, that he should have less objection to such a proportion, than to a limitation upon the term of the restrictions only. The amendment was, however, withdrawn, in order to be offered afterwards as a clause in the intended act of parliament. It was after this debate, that, the indisposition, which Mr. Fox had contracted in his return from the continent, having increased, he thought proper to retire to Bath, where he continued during the following month. The resolutions were carried to the house of lords for their concurrence, and were debated on the 22d and the day following. The earl of Sandwich moved an amendment upon the peerage resolution to limit its duration, which was rejected upon a division, contents sixty-seven, not contents ninety-three*. Upon the resolution respecting the management of the household, lord Thurlow spoke with great animation. After the close of the debate a protest was entered against the whole system of the resolutions, and signed by fifty-seven peers.

In this stage of the business an incident occurred,

which excited some degree of curiosity, and gave rise to animadversion in the members of opposition in the house of commons. The next measure Mr. Pitt intended to adopt was, the appointing a committee of both houses, to communicate to the prince of Wales the sort of regency which it was intended to institute, and to express the hope of the two houses that the prince himself would consent to take upon himself this important trust. It had been understood that this resolution was to be moved first in the house of lords on the 26th, but upon maturer consideration the design in this respect was altered almost at the moment of execution, and it was moved by Mr. Pitt in the house of commons on the following day. It was insinuated that this incident arose from the pertinaciousness of the chancellor, but Mr. Pitt fully repelled this idea, and declared, that the longer administration reflected upon their plan of proceedings, the more they were determined uniformly to pursue it to its completion. Mr. Sheridan moved an amendment upon Mr. Pitt's resolution, the words of which were extracted from the letter the minister had written to the prince of Wales, and which declared the restrictions to be formed on the supposition, that the king's illness was only temporary, and might be of no long duration. Mr. Pitt objected to this amendment, as being a partial selection of words from his letter, detached from their context and explanation; and observed that the temporary nature of the restrictions was clearly signified by the words of the resolution, which declared them to be such, as "the circumstances of the case appeared at present to require." Mr. Sheridan endeavoured in some measure to meet the objection of Mr. Pitt, by adopting the subsequent words of the letter, and adding to his amendment, that, if unfortunately the royal indisposition should be protracted to a more distant period, it would be open hereafter to the wisdom of parliament to re-consider these provisions. The amendment was rejected. On the 30th the resolution were presented to the prince of Wales by a committee of both houses, and the answer of the prince was similar in its tenor to the conclusion of his reply to Mr. Pitt, at the same time adding, that he regarded the limitations as having been approved by the two houses only as a temporary measure, founded in a loyal hope, in which he ardently participated, that the king's disorder might not be of long duration. The fifth resolution was on the same day communicated to the queen on the part of the two houses, by the earl of Aylesbury, lord chamberlain, and earl Waldegrave, master of the horse to her majesty. On the following day lord Camden moved in the house of lords, that the lord chancellor be directed by authority of the two houses of parliament, to issue a commission in the name of the sovereign, for the purpose of immediately opening the session of parliament. At length the commons declared that they concurred with the house of lords, and the session was opened in the proposed form on the 3d of February.

The resolutions on the subject of the regency had undergone so considerable a degree of discussion previously to this period, that the bill which was brought in to carry them into effect, was attended with no remarkable debate, till the 7th of the month, when the clauses came to be separately discussed. In the course of the debate Mr. Pitt brought up certain clauses, enabling parliament in its present session to grant a pension or permanent office to any person filling the situation of lord chancellor, or to any person resigning the situation of one of the twelve judges. Mr. Pulteney did not think proper to offer his clause for limiting the duration of the regency, but presented an amendment which was accepted, limiting the duration of the peerage restriction to the term of three years. The bill passed the house of commons on the 12th of February, and was

* In the course of this debate a question arose respecting the legality of originating a peerage in either house of parliament. The dispute originated from an unguarded expression of lord

Camden, but it seemed at length to be unanimously agreed, that such an honour could not be thus originated but at the immediate instance of the king or his representative.

carried up to the house of lords on the following day. Upon the second reading of the bill in the upper house, the duke of Grafton expressed his regret at having been incapacitated by illness from supporting by his presence so important a measure. The particular clauses of the bill came under the consideration of the house of lords on the 17th and 18th of February, and a few amendments were introduced in this stage of the business. The power of the regent in particular was limited in respect to the peerages to be conferred upon the members of the royal family, to such of them as should be resident in Great-Britain, and a clause was introduced for vesting in the queen the guardianship of such of the royal children as had not attained the age of twenty years. Lord Rawdon also moved the amendment of Mr. Sheridan for separating the great officers of the household from the persons to be placed under the controul of the queen, which was rejected upon a division.

Such was the progress that had been made in this interesting and extraordinary transaction, when its further proceedings were suddenly suspended by the symptoms which now discovered themselves of the king's recovery. On the 12th of February he was declared by his physicians to be in a state of progressive amendment, and on the 17th, in order to express still more strongly the favourable symptoms which daily appeared, they declared the king to be in a state of convalescence. Accordingly the lord chancellor, upon the third day of the intended committee of the house of lords upon the regency bill, thought proper to move an adjournment of all farther proceedings upon the subject. On the 25th the king was declared by his physicians free from complaint, and on the 27th the reports of his health, which had been daily published, were discontinued by the royal command. The two houses of parliament continued to sit by various adjournments till the 10th of March, when the lord chancellor, commissioned by the sovereign, addressed them in a speech, and the ordinary business of the session regularly commenced.

In the speech delivered by the chancellor in the name of the king to the two houses of parliament, the king conveyed to them his warmest acknowledgements for the additional proofs they had given of their attachment to his person, and their concern for the honour and interests of his crown, and the security and good government of his dominions. He communicated to them the treaty of alliance which he had concluded with the king of Prussia, and mentioned the endeavours he had employed to prevent as far as possible the extension of hostilities in the north, and to manifest his desire of a general pacification. In the conversation that took place upon the motion of address in return for the speech that had been delivered, earl Stanhope expressed a doubt as to the propriety of their present proceeding. He had no hesitation in giving full confidence to the fact of the king's recovery, but was the present measure strictly parliamentary? The two houses had determined that the king was rendered incapable by illness of executing the duties of his office, and they had just declared their opinion, in the provisions of the regency bill, respecting the manner in which it was proper he should resume the royal authority. If the king could of himself declare his recovery, such provisions had been superfluous and nugatory. Lord Thurlow replied, that no declaration of the two houses upon occasion of the king's illness could take from him the right of governing, nor any clause in such a bill interrupt the resumption of his powers upon the restoration of his health. For himself he wished the regency bill and all its passages to be buried in everlasting oblivion, and he trusted, that there would never be any provocation to recollect it. It was accordingly on the same day moved by lord Hawkesbury, that the bill be rejected. The two houses accompanied their address to the king with an address of congratulation to the queen upon the fortunate termination of her late calamity.

One of the earliest topics of revenue that engaged the attention of parliament, was Mr. Fox's annual motion

for the repeal of the shop-tax. Whether it were from a conviction of the inexpediency of the tax, or from gratitude for the extraordinary popularity he enjoyed, Mr. Pitt was at length induced to consent to a measure so earnestly and unremittingly demanded by the persons immediately affected by the tax. Mr. Fox observed, that, if the law had been resisted and opposed upon the ground of mere clamour, he should have thought the giving it up to be a dangerous example; but, convinced as he was of the impolicy and partial operation of the tax, and perceiving that party spirit and political prejudice had no share in the condemnation to which it was universally exposed, he must earnestly and sincerely press for its repeal. Mr. Pitt remarked, that his opinion upon the subject had originally been, that the tax would fall not upon the retailer, but the public at large. He allowed, however, that the uniform sentiments of the shop-keepers was adverse to the truth of his doctrine, and the continuance of that sentiment for so long a time was the strongest inducement to him to believe, that the retailers had not been able to find a mode of indemnifying themselves, and that mere theory ought to yield to practice and experience. He still, however, maintained, that, as far as the argument went, he had heard nothing to induce him to change his original persuasion; and accordingly in the progress of the bill of repeal he moved an amendment in the preamble, for the purpose of leaving out the words by which the tax was pronounced "a partial and oppressive imposition, militating against the just principles of taxation."

The proposition for the repeal of the shop-tax having succeeded, Mr. Dempster moved for a repeal of the tax upon the licence of hawkers and pedlars, which had been established at the same time under the idea of a compensation to the resident shop-keepers. He was, however, induced to alter his proposition upon farther reflection into that of a bill to explain and amend the hawkers and pedlars' act, which, at the same time that it abolished the licenced duties, should perpetuate the provisions against smuggling, and some other clauses of the former law. In the mean time Mr. Dempster thought proper, in the project of the bill which he submitted to the house of commons, to provide for the repeal of certain clauses which were insisted upon by Mr. Rose, secretary to the treasury. The first of these was a clause to prohibit any pedlar from coming within two miles of a market town, and the other to empower the justices of peace in the quarter sessions to forbid their entrance into the county in which they presided. The first was carried against Mr. Dempster, ayes thirty-six, noes twenty-nine, and the latter rejected by a majority of one.

On the 8th of May, Mr. Beaufoy introduced the motion, which he had two years before submitted to the house of commons, for the repeal of the corporation and test acts. He observed, that the unalterable confidence, which the dissenters reposed in the disposition of the house to do justice to the injured, and afford relief to the oppressed, had induced them to renew their application to parliament. They were perfectly convinced how difficult it was even for the best and wisest men to relinquish, upon the evidence of a single debate, the prejudice which mis-information had led them to adopt; and they could not forget how frequently the legislature had granted the requests, which causeless alarms had at first induced them to refuse. Mr. Fox supported the motion with great force and clearness of argument. He was persuaded, that no human government had a right to enquire into private opinions, or to infer the future conduct of its citizens from the sentiments they entertained. If a man should publish his political principles, and argue in direct opposition to our happy constitution, he ought not on that account to be disabled from filling any office civil or military, and it was not till he carried his detestable opinions into practice, that the law was justified in seeking a remedy and punishing his conduct. The Roman catholics had been supposed by our ancestors to entertain opinions dangerous to the state; they

they acknowledged a foreign authority paramount to the legislature, and a title to the crown superior to that conferred by the voice of the people. No opinions could certainly be more noxious than these; and yet Mr. Fox was fully persuaded that government was not intitled to interfere with them, till they expressly acted upon the dangerous doctrines they were thought to entertain. He spoke of the inference that was drawn from the supposed alliance between the church and the state, and declared, that it was an irreverent and impious opinion to maintain, that the church must depend for its existence upon the support of the political government, and not upon the evidence of its doctrines and the moral effects it produced. He concluded with observing, that he was a friend to an established religion in every country, and that he wished it might always be that which coincided with the ideas of the majority of the people. The motion was opposed by lord North and Mr. Pitt, and upon a division the numbers appeared, ayes one hundred and two, noes one hundred and twenty-two.

Mr. Beaufoy likewise introduced a bill for the purpose of instituting a festival for the commemoration of the Revolution. The bill had originated in the circumstance of the preceding year, being the last in completing a century from that glorious and important event. The period had been celebrated in many parts of the kingdom with great zeal and solemnity, and a project had been formed, at the head of which were Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan, for the purpose of erecting a column in memory of this illustrious æra, which was to be seated upon the plains of Runnymede, the scene where the barons of old had extorted from king John the confirmation of Magna Charta. Another society had at the same time formed the idea of rendering the anniversary a perpetual religious festival, and they intended that the reading of the Bill of Rights, as an abstract of the privileges of the people, should form a part of the public solemnity of the day. The bill was supported by Mr. Sheridan, but met with more opposition than might have been expected, and its introducer therefore thought proper to change the idea of making it a separate festival, into that of introducing a suitable religious service

on the Sunday preceding the anniversary. The bill passed the house of commons, but was rejected upon the first reading in the house of lords upon the motion of lord Thurlow, and Dr. Warren, bishop of Bangor, who, among other reasons, observed, that the proposed reading of the statute called the Bill of Rights*, was upon many accounts highly improper.

The subject of the slave trade, which had been suggested to the consideration of parliament in the preceding session, was not regularly resumed till the 12th of May. In the interval various petitions had been presented in the last and present session from persons principally interested, the object of which was to demand that so fatal a measure as they conceived to be that of the abolition of the African trade might not be adopted. In the mean time the report of the committee of privy-council, of which Mr. Pitt had given notice in the preceding session, was laid upon the table of the house of commons on the 25th of April, and the regular discussion of the business was at length opened by Mr. Wilberforce in a speech, which has been highly commended for the energy of its structure and the persuasiveness of its eloquence†. After the debate the house of commons proceeded to the hearing of witnesses upon this important subject; at the same time that several attempts were made on the part of the West-India proprietors to procrastinate and interrupt the progress of the business. A motion was twice made for a call of the house, in order to attain a full attendance at the period of the ultimate decision, and at length, on the 23d of June, Mr. alderman Newnham, with the consent of Mr. Wilberforce, moved that the farther consideration of the subject should be deferred to the next session. It was remarked by Mr. William Smith, that, though he was anxious to have the question brought to an issue, he saw that it was impossible it should be decided in the present session. He had not, he said, heard any good reason why the examination of witnesses might not be carried on for some weeks longer. It was known that the hearing of evidence was at all times thinly attended. If therefore the few members that did attend were willing to give up their time a little longer, why should

* See p. 731.

† In the course of this speech Mr. Wilberforce took notice of the evidence of Mr. Norris from Liverpool, which he observed was delivered in a manner that fully demonstrated that interest could draw a film over the eyes so thick, that total blindness could do no more. "Their apartments," said the evidence, "are fitted up as much for their advantage as circumstances will admit. They have several meals a day, some of their own country provisions, with the best sauces of African cookery, and by way of variety another meal of pulse, &c. according to European taste. After breakfast they have water to wash themselves, while their apartments are perfumed with frankincense and lime-juice. Before dinner they are amused after the manner of their country; the song and the dance are promoted, and games of chance are furnished. The men play and sing while the women and girls make fanciful ornaments with beads, with which they are plentifully supplied." Such was the sort of strain, said Mr. Wilberforce, in which the Liverpool delegates gave their evidence before the privy-council. What would the house think, when by the concurring testimony of other witnesses the true history was laid open? The slaves, who were sometimes described as rejoicing in their captivity, were so wrung with misery at leaving their country, that it was the constant practice to let sail in the night, lest they should be sensible of their departure. Their accommodations it seemed were convenient. The right angle of one indeed was connected with the left angle of another by a small iron fetter, and, if they were turbulent, by another on the wrists. The pulse which Mr. Norris mentioned were horse-beans, and the legislature of Jamaica had stated the scantiness both of water and provision as a subject that called for the interference of parliament. Mr. Norris talked of frankincense and lime-juice, while the surgeons described the slaves as so closely stowed, that there was not room to tread among them, and while it was proved in evidence by Sir George Yonge, that, even in a ship that wanted two hundred of her complement, the stench was intolerable. The song and the dance, said Mr. Norris, are promoted. It would have been more

fair, perhaps, if he had explained the word *promoted*. The truth was, that for the sake of exercise those miserable wretches, loaded with chains and oppressed with disease, were forced to dance by the terror of the lash, and sometimes by the actual use of it. "I," said one of the evidences, "was employed to dance the men, while another person danced the women." Such was the meaning of the word promoted; and it might also be observed with respect to food, that instruments were sometimes carried out in order to force them to eat, which was the same sort of proof how much they enjoyed themselves in this instance also. With respect to their singing, it consisted of songs of lamentation on their departure, which while they sung they were always in tears, so that one of the captains, more humane probably than the rest, threatened a woman with a flogging, because the mournfulness of her song was too painful for his feelings. That he might not trust, however, too much to any sort of description, Mr. Wilberforce called the attention of the house to one species of evidence which was infallible. Death was a witness that could not deceive them, and the proportion of death would not only confirm, but, if possible, even aggravate our suspicion of the misery of the transit. It would be found upon an average of all the ships upon which evidence had been given, that, exclusively of such as perished before they sailed, not less than twelve and a half *per cent.* died in the passage. Besides these the Jamaica reports stated that four and a half *per cent.* expired upon shore before the day of sale, which was only a week or two from the time of their landing; one third more died in the seasoning, and this in a climate exactly similar to their own, and where, as some of the witnesses pretended, they were healthy and happy. The diseases, however, that they contracted on ship-board, the astringents and washes that were employed to hide the wounds, and make them up for sale, were a principal cause of this mortality. The negroes, it should be remembered, were not purchased at first except in perfect health, and the sum of the different casualties taken together produced a mortality of above fifty *per cent.*

other members complain of an inconvenience, in the suffering of which they took no share? Mr. Smith thought, that by this proceeding the examination of witnesses on the part of the merchants might be finished, and of consequence the business brought into a very desirable state of forwardness against the ensuing session. The question was carried without a division; and the transactions of the house under this head were concluded by the renewal of Sir William Dolben's act, to regulate for a limited time a mode of conveying slaves in British vessels from the coast of Africa.

In June the office of speaker of the house of commons was vacated by the promotion of Mr. Grenville to the situation of one of the principal secretaries of state, upon the resignation of lord Sydney. Upon this occasion the marquis of Graham and Mr. Grosvenor moved, that Mr. Henry Addington, who was the personal friend of Mr. Pitt, and the son of Dr. Stephen Addington, physician to Mr. Pitt's family, should be appointed to the chair. The name of Sir Gilbert Elliot was proposed on the part of opposition, by the same persons who had brought it forward upon a former occasion, and Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, in support of this amendment, took notice of the youth and inexperience of his competitor. At length the house divided, and the numbers appeared, in favour of Mr. Addington two hundred and fifteen, and of Sir Gilbert Elliot one hundred and forty-two.

An important operation of revenue that falls under the present year, was the removal of the collection of the duty upon tobacco from the customs to the excise. The subject was opened to the house of commons on the 16th of June, and Mr. Pitt introduced it by observing, that tobacco was now to be considered as the smuggler's staple, in the same manner as he had formerly dealt in tea, wine, and spirits. The quantity of tobacco consumed in this kingdom was found to bear a tolerably near proportion to the quantity of tea, and at least one half of this quantity was the exclusive commodity of the smuggler. The consumption amounted to fourteen millions of pounds, and the loss to the revenue upon the half of this consumption was three or four hundred thousand pounds *per annum*. Under these circumstances, Mr. Pitt had thought it necessary to adopt an immediate expedient for the suppression of so enormous a fraud, and he had only two alternatives, either to lower the duty so as to deprive the smuggler of all chance of success, or to subject the manufacturers of tobacco to the survey of excise. The subject of the tobacco bill did not, however, give rise to any regular debate till the question for the third reading on the 15th of July. In the mean time petitions were presented from the persons who fell under the new system, and they were permitted to be heard by themselves and their counsel. Their principal allegations consisted of two parts; first, that the introduction of the excise would lead to the consequent ruin of their manufacture; and, secondly, that the proceedings of the excise, such as gauging and weighing, were, from the nature of the commodity, altogether inapplicable. The house divided upon the question for the third reading, when the numbers stood ayes seventy, noes twenty. In the upper house lord Stormont loudly condemned the bill. Lord Thurlow strongly objected to the clause which empowered the exciseman to enter without a constable into the ware-houses and laboratories of the manufacturer. Nor did he care for the argument, that the law was sanctified by the uniform practice of the excise laws since the reign of queen Anne. Had it been observed without interruption from the conquest, he should oppose it; no length of time could change oppression into justice, nor could any consideration on earth induce him to consent to a bill which might endanger the secrets of trade. The duke of Richmond adopted a great part of the reasoning of lord Thurlow, and declared, that, though he approved the general design of the measure, he should hold himself bound, if this part of the bill were unaltered, to give his negative to the whole. In discussing

the individual clauses, lord Thurlow moved an amendment, which he stated to be necessary in order to render a part of the bill conformable to the intention of its authors, which was rejected upon a division. The duke of Leeds moved an amendment of a similar design to another part of the bill, which was at first received, but afterwards obliged to be withdrawn, the bill being of a nature in which the commons allowed the lords to make no alteration.

The only remaining topic of the present session was a discussion, first introduced in the house of commons on the 6th of July, relative to an application that had been made to ministers by the French government, to permit the exportation of twenty thousand sacks of flour, in order to relieve the inhabitants of that country in the extreme scarcity under which they laboured. Mr. Pulteney having proposed a question to the minister upon the subject, Mr. Pitt replied, that the application was such, as did not upon a cursory view appear unfit to be complied with; but that government had not yet been able sufficiently to digest their enquiries upon the subject, and that, when they had, they would offer the result to the consideration of the house. Mr. Orde and Mr. Windham lamented that the topic had been at all mentioned in that public manner. It might lead to very great inconvenience, and the price of corn might suddenly rise so as to produce all the effects of a scarcity at home. They wished government had done whatever to them appeared proper, and had afterwards come to parliament for a bill of indemnity. As the subject appeared to be of such a nature as by no means to admit of suspense, Mr. Pitt on the following day presented the minutes of the examination taken by the privy council, and named a committee of fifteen persons to take the question into consideration. The committee retired for a short time, and then came to a resolution, that, from a comparative view of the prices of wheat and flour in France and in England, twenty thousand sacks of flour ought not to be exported.

The session of parliament was concluded on the 11th of August by a speech delivered by the lord chancellor in the name of the sovereign, in which it was observed, that, though the good offices of himself and his allies had not hitherto been effectual for restoring the general tranquillity of Europe, the king had the satisfaction of seeing that the farther extension of hostilities had been prevented, and that the situation of affairs continued to promise to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace.

The 23d of April this year being appointed by his majesty's proclamation to be observed as a day of general thanksgiving to Almighty God for the signal interposition of his good providence, in removing from his majesty the late illness with which he had been afflicted, his majesty was pleased, for the greater solemnity of the day, to go to the cathedral church of St. Paul, accompanied by the queen, their royal highnesses the prince of Wales, the duke of York, the princess royal, the princess Augusta, the princess Elizabeth, the duke of Gloucester, the duke of Cumberland, and his highness prince William; and attended by both houses of parliament, the great officers of state, the judges, and other public officers, to return thanks to God for his great mercies and blessings. The procession was begun at eight o'clock in the morning by the house of commons in their coaches, followed by their speaker, in his state coach. Next came the masters in chancery, the judges, and after them the peers, in the order of precedence, as they were marshalled by the officers of arms at Westminster, the youngest baron going first, and the lord chancellor, in his state coach, closing this part of the procession. Such of the peers as were knights wore the collars of their respective orders. Afterwards came the royal family, in order of precedence, with their attendants, escorted by parties of the royal regiment of horse-guards. Their majesties set out from the queen's palace soon after ten o'clock in a coach drawn by eight cream-coloured horses, (in which were also two of the ladies



The LORD MAYOR presenting the City Sword to his MAJESTY GEORGE III on his Reception to St. Pauls April 23rd 80.

ladies of her majesty's bed-chamber,) followed by their royal highnesses the princesses, and proceeded through the gate at the stable-yard along Pall-mall, and through the Strand, amid the loyal acclamations of a prodigious concourse of people. The streets were lined, as far as Temple-Bar, by the brigade of foot-guards; the grenadier companies of which were posted in St. Paul's church, and in the church-yard, and patrolled by the parties of the royal regiment of horse-guards. The avenues into the streets through which the procession passed were guarded by the queen's light-dragoons. From Temple Bar to the church the streets were lined by the artillery company and militia of the city; the peace officers attending both within and without the city, to preserve order. At Temple-Bar his majesty was met by the lord-mayor in a gown of crimson velvet, by the sheriffs in their scarlet gowns, and a deputation from the aldermen and common-council (being all on horse-back,) when the lord-mayor surrendered the city sword to his majesty, who having returned it to him, he carried it bare-headed before the king to St. Paul's. His majesty being come to St. Paul's was met at the west door by the peers, the bishop of London, the dean of St. Paul's, (bishop of Lincoln,) the canons residentiary, and the king's and other officers of arms, the band of gentlemen pensioners, and the yeomen of the guard attending. The sword of state was carried before his majesty by the marquis of Stafford into the choir, where the king and queen placed themselves under a canopy of state, near the west end opposite to the altar. The peers had their seats in the area, as a house of lords, and the commons in the stalls. The upper galleries were allotted to the ladies of her majesty's bed-chamber the maids of honour, and such other ladies of distinction as attended on this occasion. The foreign ministers were placed in the two lower galleries, next to the throne, and the lord-mayor and aldermen in the lower galleries near the altar. The prayers and litany were read and chanted by the minor canons. The *Te Deum* and anthems composed for the occasion were sung by the choir, who were placed in the organ-loft, and were joined in the chorus, as also in the Psalms, by the charity children, in number about six thousand, who were assembled there previous to their majesty's arrival. The communion service was read by the dean and residentiaries, and the sermon preached by the lord bishop of London. Divine service being ended, their majesties returned with the same state to the queen's palace at about half an hour after three o'clock. The guns in the Tower and in the Park were fired three times, first upon the king's setting out, secondly at the singing of *Te Deum*, and thirdly upon his majesty's return; after which the brigade of foot-guards fired a *feu de joie* in St. James's Park, being drawn up in the front of the queen's palace. The public demonstrations of joy and loyalty by the inhabitants of London and Westminster, on the occasion of his majesty's first appearance in public since his happy recovery, exceeded all expression; and on the evening of the following day the illuminations in all parts of this metropolis surpassed in splendour and magnificence all former exhibitions.

On the 19th of November was effected the greatest object of internal navigation in this kingdom. The Severn was united to the Thames by an intermediate canal ascending by Stroud, through the vale of Chalford, to the height of three hundred and forty-three feet, by forty locks; there entering a funnel through the hill of Sapertra, for the length of two miles and three furlongs, and descending by twenty-two locks, it joined the Thames near Lechlade.

By advices from the East it appeared that lord Cornwallis had totally abolished the slave trade in Bengal, and had issued a proclamation declaring, "That all persons who may hereafter be found either directly or indirectly concerned therein, shall be prosecuted in the supreme court; and, if a British subject, shall, on conviction, be sent to Europe. A reward of one hundred rupees is offered for discovering any offender against the proclamation, and fifty rupees more for every person, of either sex, who is delivered from slavery, or illegal confinement, in consequence of such discovery." It is published in the different languages of the country, and has been sent to all the merchants, traders, and public offices, for their notice.

The parliament elected in 1784 met for its last session on the 21st of January, 1790. In the speech from the throne the king informed them, that, since the last meeting, the continuance of the war upon the continent, and the internal situation of different parts of Europe, had been productive of events which had engaged his most serious attention. He, however, received continued assurances of the pacific disposition of foreign powers towards this country; and had great satisfaction in reflecting on the happiness we enjoyed in the increasing advantages of peace, and the uninterrupted possession of those invaluable blessings, which we had so long derived from our excellent constitution. He concluded with mentioning the order of council which had been issued with a view to the apprehended scarcity of corn; which measure, as it exceeded the legal authority vested in the executive power, was taken into the early consideration of parliament, and provided for by an act of indemnity passed for that purpose.

The augmentation of the salary of the speaker of the house of commons was a subject that was brought before the house this session. The salary of the speaker, exclusive of services of plate, and other incidental advantages, amounted to three thousand pounds *per annum*. Mr. Hufsey was the only person who opposed this measure, as tending to augment the influence of the crown; and he particularly complained of that part of the motion, by which it was proposed to take the additional salary out of the sinking fund, and not out of the civil list. It was intended to raise the income of the speaker's office to the annual amount of five thousand pounds, which sum Mr. Burke stated as being even then insufficient; and in this opinion the house so completely coincided, that an amendment for increasing the specific sum to six thousand pounds, though moved by a commoner of little personal weight, was carried by a majority of more than five to one. It was supported by Mr. Fox, at the same time that Mr. Pitt desired that the amendment might be withdrawn, as preferring the sum which had been adopted upon mature deliberation, to that which was prompted by a momentary suggestion.

A topic which called forth as great an effort of ability as any that was brought forward in the course of the session, was the motion of Mr. Sheridan for a repeal of the act of the preceding year, subjecting the manufacture of tobacco to the survey of the excise. The manufacturers were heard by their counsel, and a considerable body of evidence was adduced to prove the allegation that had been stated while the act itself was in progress, that the survey of the excise was inapplicable to the manufacture of tobacco. Mr. Sheridan introduced his motion on the 16th of April, and in a strain of the most forcible eloquence endeavoured to set forth all the enormities with which the collection of the excise was attended*. Mr. Sheridan's motion was, however, carried in the negative; ayes one hundred and forty-seven,

* While Mr. Sheridan was speaking he held in his hand a book, which contained only ten acts of parliament for enforcing the collection of the revenue by excise; and he would venture to declare, he said, that in no age or country had the blackest despotism pursued measures more tyrannical, cruel, and oppressive, than were to be found in that book. In prosecuting his animalversions he observed, that in the reign of

king Charles II. when the system began to appear, an excise officer could not break into an house, without an information upon oath, without a warrant from a justice of peace, and the presence of a constable; and no house, even with all these precautions, could be entered by an exciseman in the night. But by degrees all these barriers, erected for the protection of liberty, were beaten down. There were certain cases in which

seven, noes one hundred and ninety-one. The object of the petitioners being thus disposed of, Mr. Pitt introduced, as he had promised, a bill to explain and amend the exceptionable clauses of the bill of the preceding year. Every opposition to the general principle of the bill having proved fruitless, an amendment was moved in the last stage, to secure to the persons concerned the option of a trial by jury; and this amendment was rejected upon a division.

A bill was brought in, in the course of the present session, for the purpose of rendering the act for farming the duties upon post-horses, which had originally been adopted as a matter of experiment, perpetual. This measure was opposed, as it had been in the former instance, upon the principle of considering the farming of revenue as adverse to the spirit of the English constitution; and it was farther contested by Mr. Sheridan, that the additional receipts upon this tax, since the duty had been put into the hands of farmers, were by no means such as to authorize so violent a measure. Mr. Pitt was at length prevailed upon to change the object of the bill; and, instead of making the regulation perpetual, only to prolong it for a limited time.

One of the financial measures of the preceding session had been the introduction of a tontine, or scheme of annuity with benefit of survivorship. This measure had failed in the execution, the numbers of subscribers being exceedingly few; and Mr. Pitt accordingly found it necessary at this time to amend his original proposition, by granting to the subscribers an option of exchanging their shares of the tontine for an equivalent amount of long annuity for the term of sixty nine years.

This session came on again the motion for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts. The efforts upon the present occasion were more animated than those which had been made upon the two former; the dissenters had prevailed upon Mr. Fox to undertake the introduction of the intended motion; and the clergy of the church of England, alarmed perhaps at the rapid downfall of the pecuniary and territorial eminence of the Gallican church, strenuously exerted themselves to keep alive and diffuse a spirit of opposition against the encroachment that they imagined was intended upon their exclusive privileges. The question was regularly discussed in the house of commons on the 2d of March. Upon this occasion Mr. Fox stated it as the fundamental principle, upon which the whole argument turned, that no government had a right to animadvert upon the speculative opinions of its subjects, and that the persons holding such opinions could in no case be rendered fit objects for the censure of the state, till they were led by them to the adoption of a conduct subversive of the public tranquillity. Persecution, he said, might be allowed to have originally proceeded on a principle of kindness, to promote an unity of religious opinion, and to prevent error in the important articles of Christian belief. But did persecution ever succeed in this humane and truly charitable design? The experiment had been made in different times and under various forms, and had uniformly miscarried. It was said that certain errors in religion had a tendency to disturb the public peace: but surely this argument, if in any instance true, would be still more true, when applied to political errors; and yet such was the absurdity of our present test laws, that a man who favoured arbitrary power in his sentiments, who should consider the abolition of trial by

jury as no violation of liberty, and the invasion of the freedom and law of parliament as no infraction of the constitution, might easily pave his way to the first situations in the state. There was no political test to bind him; the obligation of all such tests had been justly exploded by the practice of the country. And what had been the consequence of this? A religious test was imposed for a political purpose. The object of this test had originally been to exclude antimonarchical men from civil offices. But he would ever reprobate such a procedure; it was acting under false pretences; its tendency led to hypocrisy, and served as a restraint only upon the conscientious and the honest. Mr. Fox in another speech on the same occasion, congratulated himself upon having been selected by men, who had rather acted as his enemies than as his friends, to fight the battle of right against oppression; and concluded with assuring them, that he should be ever ready upon any future occasion to take the field for them again, convinced that their complaint was well founded, and that they fought no more than a redress to which they were fairly entitled. When the house divided upon the question there appeared, ayes one hundred and five, noes two hundred and ninety-four.

Two days after the decision of this business, a motion was made by Mr. Flood, for leave to bring in a bill upon the subject of the equal representation of the people in parliament. This topic had met with a considerable degree of attention from the people towards the close of the American war. Associations had been formed, and petitions originated, for the sole purpose of obtaining an amendment of the constitution; but, as the immediate cause of the discontent was removed, the spirit of reform subsided, and the last attempt that was made upon the subject, with infinitely less hope of success than in the instances that had preceded, was upon the motion of Mr. Pitt in the year 1785. The question had been forgotten by the nation at large; and men of extensive property and hereditary wealth conceived themselves to have too obvious an interest in preserving the inequality, not anxiously to exert themselves to stifle so dangerous a spirit. Mr. Flood began with informing the house of commons of a truth, which, but from a confidence in their virtue, as he said, he should not have dared to have uttered; that they were not the adequate representatives of the people. That they were the legal representatives to be freely admitted; nay, he would go farther, and say, that they were a highly useful and honourable council, a council which in any other government of Europe, would be a great acquisition. But, to the honour of our country be it spoken, the British constitution entitled us to something better. Representation, Mr. Flood said, was the great arcanum and wise mystery of our government, by which it excelled all the states of antiquity*. Mr. Flood's proposition was, that one hundred members should be added to the present house of commons to be elected by a new and numerous body of electors, the resident householders in every county. It was on all hands admitted, that every individual in this country paid upon an average fifty shillings *per annum* to the revenue. The master or father of a family contributed in proportion for himself and all its members. Who should say, that this class of men ought to be confounded with the rabble. Who should dare to say, that they ought to be proscribed from franchise? They maintained the affluence of the

the trader was admitted to appeal to trial by jury; but even here the tradesman and the exciseman did not go into court, as ought to be the case in a free country, upon equal terms. If goods were seized, the owner became obliged to prove that they had paid the duty; but the officer was not likewise reduced to the necessity of proving that they were seizable. The officer could bring his action within three years, the trader within three months. The latter was compelled to give notice in writing of the grounds on which he intended to proceed. He was restrained at the time of trial from entering into any fresh evidence; and after all, though the jury, on finding the

conduct of the officer to be vexatious, malicious, and oppressive, should give the trader five thousand pounds damages, yet if the judge should certify that there was probable ground for the seizure, these damages might be reduced to two-pence.

* In the course of his speech Mr. Flood observed, that the freeholders, who originally included the whole property of the country, now constituted only a small part of it. What was worse, the majority of the representatives, who decided for the whole, and acted for eight millions of people, were chosen by a number of electors, not exceeding six or eight thousand.

rich,

rich, the dignity of the noble, and the majesty of the crown; they supported our fleets and our armies. Could we deny them the right to protect their liberty? But so great was the clamour against Mr. Flood's hypothesis, that, borne down by a torrent of ministerialists, he at length consented to withdraw his proposition.

The subject of the slave trade, which was first brought forward in the year 1788, and which had unfortunately extended itself to a greater length than might reasonably have appeared necessary, was resumed immediately after the commencement of the present session. The conduct of the planters and others who imagined their interests to be deeply involved in the question, appears to have been concerted with much ingenuity and contrivance for the preservation of this unjustifiable commerce. By various manœuvres, the ill health of Mr. Wilberforce, the mover of the question, and some other incidental circumstances, the business was drawn into considerable length in the session of 1788. In May, 1789, Mr. Wilberforce brought forward certain propositions, as the foundation of a bill for abolishing the trade. But the planters discovered, that the evidence collected by the privy council, was by no means a proper document upon which the house of commons ought to proceed; and that it was necessary that witnesses should be called in behalf of the trade, those of the preceding session having applied immediately to Sir William Dolben's bill for regulating the trade, and not to the present proposition for abolishing it. Witnesses were accordingly admitted, and the business procrastinated to a third session. Early in the year 1790 Mr. Wilberforce revived his proposition; and, the evidence of the planters not being completed, moved, that the remainder of the witnesses should be examined by a select committee, and not by the house at large. This proposition, the decision upon which, in the opinion of Mr. Fox and others, amounted to a decision, whether the consideration of the slave trade should be continued or annihilated, was opposed by the majority of the persons interested, upon the ground that there was no precedent for referring so important a question to a select committee. The motion, however, was voted without a division, and the examination of witnesses proceeded. The evidence on the part of the trade was concluded about the 23d of April. Mr. Wilberforce now moved, that evidence should be heard on the part of the abolition. But, upon this occasion, the partizans of the trade changed their ground, and were as eager to call for an immediate decision, as they had before been to procrastinate it. It was said, that during the two last years the enthusiasm upon the present question, both in and out of the house, had greatly abated. The planters trusted in some degree to the immediate impression of the evidence they had just adduced, and were unwilling to have that evidence counteracted by witnesses of another description. But they were probably influenced, more than by either

of these considerations, by the canvas they had made of the sentiments of the house of commons, and the assurance they had obtained of having the trade supported by a great majority. The two members for Liverpool differed in some degree in their sentiments upon the present question. Lord Penrhyn was for pressing the subject to a decision without a moment's delay, while Mr. Gascoyne was willing to allow three weeks to the friends of the abolition, in which to produce their witnesses: their impatience, however, was over-ruled by the sense of the house. Meanwhile the reinforcements they had gained, encouraged them to become more adventurous; and upon the revival of Sir William Dolben's bill for limiting the number of slaves to be transported in each slave ship, they proposed an amendment, to increase the number in proportion to the tonnage of the ships, without taking into the account, as had hitherto been done, the extent of these superficieses. This amendment was carried in a thin house on the 26th of May; ayes twenty-three, noes eighteen. But the planters were not suffered to retain their advantage; and on the next day the amendment was rejected upon the report; ayes ninety-five, noes sixty-nine.

Mr. Fox recalled in the course of the session the attention of the house, to a pledge that was voted in the year 1788, that "they would early in the next session take into consideration the government proper to be established in Canada." The next session, as he observed, had not properly commenced till the month of March, and it was owing to that circumstance that the business had been suffered to pass at that time without discussion. But he conceived that it was every way incumbent upon ministers, after so long a delay, to proceed to something decisive in the present year. Mr. Grenville, secretary of state, undertook to shew that the delay was not ascribable to any negligence in him. He had not been appointed to his present office till July, 1789. With great application and unremitting industry, he had been able, in about three months from that time, to study the subject, to digest his own opinions respecting it, to compare them with the opinions of the other members of the cabinet, and to mature the whole into the form of a bill, such as he thought fit to be submitted to the consideration of parliament. As soon as he had done this, he had sent out his draught to lord Dorchester, governor of Canada, for his judgment. Unfortunately, the packet in which it was conveyed, did not perform its voyage in the usual time, so that lord Dorchester's answer was not yet received. It was impossible, therefore, to proceed farther in the business in the present session.

The business of the session was nearly approached to a close, when, on the 5th of May, a new and unexpected transaction was submitted to the consideration of parliament*. This consisted in certain hostilities committed by the Spaniards upon the north-western coast of America,

* The following is a copy of his majesty's message to both houses of parliament on this occasion:

George Rex.

"His majesty had received information, that two vessels belonging to his majesty's subjects, and navigated under the British flag, and two others, of which the description is not hitherto sufficiently ascertained, have been captured at Nootka Sound, on the north-western coast of America, by an officer commanding two Spanish ships of war: that the cargoes of the British vessels have been seized, and that their officers and crews have been sent as prisoners to a Spanish port.

"The capture of one of these vessels had before been notified by the ambassador of the catholic king by order of his court, who at the same time desired that measures might be taken for preventing his majesty's subjects from frequenting those coasts, which were alleged to have been previously occupied and frequented by the subjects of Spain. Complaints were also made of the fisheries carried on by his majesty's subjects in the seas adjoining to the Spanish continent, as being contrary to the rights of the crown of Spain. In consequence of this line of communication, a demand was immediately made, by his majesty's order, for adequate satisfaction, and for restitution of the vessels, previous to any other discussion.

No. LXXVIII.

"By the answer from the court of Spain, it appears that this vessel and her crew had been set at liberty by the viceroy of Mexico; but this is represented to have been done by him on the supposition, that nothing but the ignorance of the rights of Spain had encouraged the individuals of other nations to come to those coasts for the purpose of making establishments for carrying on trade, and, in conformity to his previous instructions, requiring him to shew all possible regard to the British nation.

"No satisfaction is made or offered, and a direct claim is asserted by the court of Spain to the exclusive rights of sovereignty, navigation, and commerce, in the territories, coasts, and seas, in that part of the world.

"His majesty has now directed his minister at Madrid to make a fresh representation on this subject, and to claim such full and adequate satisfaction as the nature of the case evidently requires; and, under these circumstances, his majesty having also received information that considerable armaments are carrying on in the ports of Spain, has judged it indispensably necessary to give orders to make such preparations as may put it in his majesty's power to act with vigour and effect in support of the honour of the crown and the interests of his people. And his majesty recommends it to his faithful commons, on

America, for which satisfaction had been demanded and refused; and which of consequence, were considered as rendering an armament necessary, in order, either by terror or actual war, to induce the Spaniards to make a compensation for the injury they had committed. A small association of British merchants resident in the East-Indies, had early in the year 1786, formed the project of opening a trade to this part of the world, for the purpose of supplying the Chinese market with furs. The principal point towards which these expeditions were directed, was port Nootka, or King George's Sound; and the adventurers, being in some degree satisfied with their traffic, took measures in the year 1788, to secure to themselves a permanent settlement; at the same time that the shipping employed in this expedition, was generally of two, and never exceeded the amount of four small vessels. The Spaniards conceived some jealousy of the intrusion of the English into a part of the world, which they had long been desirous to regard as their exclusive property; and accordingly a Spanish frigate of twenty-six guns was dispatched from the province of Mexico, for the purpose of putting an end to this commerce. The Spanish frigate arrived in May, 1789, and captured two English vessels in the following July, at the same time taking possession of the little settlement, which had been formed upon the coast. This transaction was first notified to the government by the Spanish ambassador, resident at the court of London, who at the same time demanded, that measures should be taken by the English government, to prevent the inhabitants from frequenting these coasts, which were alledged to have been previously occupied by the subjects of Spain. Complaints were also made of the fisheries carried on by Great-Britain in the seas adjoining to the Spanish continent, as being contrary to the rights of that crown. The English ministry did not receive this communication in a manner that indicated much inclination to comply with its requisition; and a demand was immediately made by them, that the vessels should be restored, and adequate satisfaction granted, previously to any other discussion. By the answer from the court of Spain it appeared that the captured vessels and their crews had been set at liberty by the viceroy of Mexico, on the supposition, as he declared, that nothing but an ignorance of the rights of Spain could have encouraged the individuals of other nations to attempt establishments upon that coast, and in conformity to his previous instructions to shew all possible regard to the British flag. No farther satisfaction was either made or afforded, and a direct claim was set up by the court of Spain, to the exclusive rights of sovereignty, navigation, and commerce in the territories and coasts of that part of the world.

Whether in this transaction Spain was seeking a pretence for hostilities we cannot pretend to determine. Charles the Third, their late sovereign, had died in December 1788; and of consequence, before we can impute a premeditated intention of hostility, we must suppose an absolute coincidence of views between him and Charles the Fourth, his successor. An address to the king, upon the subject of the royal message, was moved by Mr. Pitt on the day subsequent to that on which it had been delivered; and in opening the subject to the house of commons, he observed, that, however natural it might be to look with concern upon the circumstances stated in the message, and their possible consequences, he conceived he should not do justice to the feelings and public spirit of the house, if he per-

mitted himself for a moment to doubt of their unanimity with respect to such measures as the circumstances rendered necessary. He wished to abstain from all expressions of aggravation, and indeed the bare mention of the facts, which had occurred, could not fail to induce a British house of commons to resent the indignity offered to their flag, and to demand satisfaction for the injury done to their fellow subjects. The claim of the court of Spain was the most absurd and exorbitant that could be imagined; it originated in no treaty, and was indefinite in its extent. If we submitted to it, we must expect to be deprived of our South-sea fishery, a commerce which promised to afford us the most considerable advantages. Mr. Fox declared, that no man felt a warmer resentment at the unprovoked aggression of the court of Spain, or was more fully persuaded of the necessity of an immediate and vigorous armament, than he was. He could not, however, avoid complaining of the omissions of the message, particularly that it contained no information of what the captured ships had been doing, or had intended to do; whether they were about to make an establishment, or whether Spain knew of any meditated establishment. Another circumstance was entitled to attention. It was now scarcely a fortnight since the minister had descanted upon the flourishing state of the finances, and in no part of his argument did he seem more confident, than in the assurance he had given the house of the probable continuance of peace. At first sight this had struck Mr. Fox as an instance of the uncertainty of human wisdom, and the mutability of sublunary affairs. Viewed in another light, it gave rise to various suggestions. At the moment that Mr. Pitt was vaunting of the resources of the country, he must have known that Spain had, without a colour of pretence, seized upon British ships, made prisoners of the crews, and confiscated the property they contained. Under these circumstances he did not see the necessity for the minister to get out of his way to introduce assurances of the continuance of peace. Had such fallacious hopes not been excited, the public would not have felt the disappointment and surprize with which they were now impressed. Mr. Burke recommended every practicable endeavour at accommodation, as far as was consistent with the national honour; declaring that, as we ought never to go to war for a profitable wrong, no more ought we to take up arms for an unprofitable right. He conceived that the balance of Europe was best maintained by a continuance of peace. Beside, what had we to contend for? Extent of dominion would do us no good; on the contrary, if all the foreign possessions of Spain could be brought over to the scale of England, he did not think it was an object for a wise man to desire.

The address had no sooner been unanimously voted, than Mr. Fox moved, that there should be laid before the house, the intelligence which had been received concerning the captured ships, and such information as had been received concerning the armament in the Spanish ports, together with the dates of that information. The first of these motions was carried, and the second passed in the negative, it being alledged that the publication of such an account was calculated to betray the channel through which the intelligence had been obtained. On the 10th, Mr. Pitt moved for a vote of credit to the amount of one million sterling. Meanwhile opposition obtained information which they deemed credible, that the first notification of the Spanish ambassador had passed as long ago as the 10th of the preceding February;

whose zeal and public spirit he has the most perfect reliance, to enable him to take such measures, and to make such augmentation of his forces, as may be eventually necessary for this purpose.

"It is his majesty's earnest wish that the justice of his majesty's demands may ensue from the wisdom and equity of his catholic majesty, the satisfaction which is so unquestionably due; and that this affair may be terminated in such a manner

as to prevent any grounds of misunderstanding in future, and to continue and confirm that harmony and friendship which has so happily subsisted between the two courts, and which his majesty will always endeavour to maintain and improve by all such means as are consistent with the dignity of his majesty's crown and the essential interests of his majesty's subjects.

"G. R."

and

and this circumstance they were desirous to ascertain in an authentic form, as it appeared to them materially to criminate the conduct of administration. In the mean time, Mr. Pitt observed that he had not understood the communication of the Spanish ambassador as included in the intelligence moved for, by Mr. Fox, or he should certainly have opposed the granting that intelligence; of consequence the other side of the house had no reason to flatter themselves, that this communication would be produced together with the other papers. Accordingly a distinct motion was shortly after brought forward by Mr. Grey, for the purpose of obtaining it. In support of this motion he declared, that no man felt more strongly for the honour and dignity of the British nation than he did. National honour was by some represented as a visionary thing; but for himself, he was persuaded, that a nation without honour was a nation without power; and that, in losing this inestimable attribute, it inevitably lost the genuine spring of its spirit, its energy, and its action. Every nation ought therefore to be careful of its honour; to be careful, lest, by one mean submission, it encouraged an attack upon the dignity of its character, that best security for the preservation of peace. It was necessary, Mr. Grey said, to obtain the information for which he moved, that it might be seen, whether we had been hurried on to the eve of a war by the rashness, the credulity, and the inattention of ministers, or whether it had arisen from unavoidable circumstances, and such as no human foresight could have prevented. Mr. Pitt had been acquainted with the unjust and insulting conduct of Spain for no less than three months. His conduct had therefore been unwarrantable, in holding out to the public the ideas which had accompanied his opening of the budget; and he ought to ask pardon of the parliament and of the nation. Mr. Lambton seconded the motion, and deprecated the wantonly precipitating the nation in hostilities. The doing so would be the readiest mode of bringing on the nation a bankruptcy; which, though it had proved of essential benefit to France, could not fail of being ruinous to England. What had happened in that country was like a storm, that merely overturned a ruinous, disgusting fabric; but here a similar disaster would prove like an earthquake, swallowing up at once an admirable and well-constituted edifice, upon which the world had been accustomed to look, during the course of successive centuries, with envy and admiration. The house divided upon the question; ayes one hundred and twenty-one, noes two hundred and thirteen. A motion was then made for the date of the paper only, and likewise rejected.

On the 10th of June the king put an end to the session by a speech from the throne. He said, that he had

not hitherto received the answer of the court of Madrid. He entertained the strongest desire for the maintenance of peace upon just and honourable grounds; but under the present circumstances he felt it indispensably necessary to proceed with expedition and vigour in the armament. He had received the most unequivocal assurances of the support of his allies on this interesting occasion; and he trusted their mutual good understanding would be productive of the happiest effects. The king proceeded to acquaint parliament of his intention immediately to dissolve them, at the same time expressing a deep and grateful sense of their loyalty and constitutional principles.

On the 13th of the same month the court of Spain delivered a memorial to Mr. Fitzherbert, his Britannic majesty's ambassador at Madrid, in which the Spanish court endeavour to justify their proceedings at Nootka. To this memorial Mr. Fitzherbert delivered a spirited answer, which drew a reply from the Count de Florida Blanca on the 18th. However, this affair was brought to a conclusion on the 24th of July, when a declaration and counter-declaration were signed at Madrid between the Spanish minister and the British ambassador. On the 5th of August an official letter was sent to the lord-mayor of London from the secretary of state's office, containing an account of the signing of the declaration and counter-declaration as just mentioned *.

In March this year accounts were received at the admiralty of a mutiny on board the *Bounty* armed ship, captain Bligh, in the South-sea. This ship sailed from England in the autumn of 1787, on a voyage to the Society Islands, for bread fruit trees, intended for our West India settlements, in which climate it was the opinion of Sir Joseph Banks they might be successfully cultivated, and prove a succedaneum for other provisions in time of scarcity. The *Bounty* had made good the object of her voyage, so far as to have received on board a great number of trees in various stages of growth; and there was every prospect of their being capable of preservation. The ship thus laden, quitted Otaheite on the 4th of April, 1789, and continuing her course in a westerly direction, lost sight of the Friendly Islands on the 27th of that month, and every thing like good order was supposed to prevail on board. Even the mid-watch was relieved, without the least apparent disorder; but, at day-break, on the 28th, the cabin of captain Bligh was forcibly entered by the officer of the watch, assisted by three others, who dragged him instantly on the deck, menacing his life if he attempted to speak. His endeavours to bring back the conspirators to their duty proved of no avail. Each of the desperadoes was armed with a drawn cutlass, or fixed bayonet,

* On the same day the following authentic papers appeared in the London Gazette:

DECLARATION.

"His Britannic majesty having complained of the capture of certain vessels belonging to his subjects in the port of Nootka, situated on the north-west coast of America, by an officer in the service of the king: the under-signed counsellor and principal secretary of state to his majesty, being thereto duly authorized, declares, in the name and by the order of his said majesty, that he is willing to give satisfaction to his Britannic majesty for the injury of which he has complained; fully persuaded that his said Britannic majesty would act in the same manner towards the king, under similar circumstances; and his majesty further engages to make full restitution of all the British vessels which were captured at Nootka, and to indemnify the parties interested in those vessels, for the losses which they shall have sustained, as soon as the amount thereof shall have been ascertained.

"It being understood that this declaration is not to preclude or prejudice the ulterior discussion of any right which his majesty may claim to form an exclusive establishment at the port of Nootka.

"In witness whereof I have signed this declaration, and sealed it with the seal of my arms. At Madrid, the 24th of July, 1790.

Signed (L. S.)

"LE COMPTE DE FLORIDA BLANCA."

COUNTER-DECLARATION.

"His Catholic majesty having declared that he was willing to give satisfaction for the injury done to the king, by the capture of certain vessels belonging to his subjects, in the bay of Nootka, and the count de Florida Blanca having signed, in the name and by the order of his catholic majesty, a declaration to this effect; and by which his said majesty likewise engages to make full restitution of the vessels so captured, and to indemnify the parties interested in those vessels for the losses they shall have sustained: the under-signed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his majesty to the catholic king, being thereto duly and expressly authorized, accepts the said declaration in the name of the king: and declares that his majesty will consider this declaration, together with the performance of the engagements contained therein, as a full and entire satisfaction for the injury of which his majesty has complained.

"The under-signed declares, at the same time, that it is to be understood, that neither the said declaration signed by count Florida Blanca, nor the acceptance thereof by the under-signed, in the name of the king, is to preclude or prejudice, in any respect, the right which his majesty may claim to any establishment which his subjects may have formed, or should be desirous of forming in future, at the said Bay of Nootka.

"In witness whereof I have signed this counter-declaration, and sealed it with the seal of my arms. At Madrid, the 24th of July, 1790.

Signed (L. S.)

"ALLEYNE FITZHERBERT."

and

and all their muskets were avowed to be charged. Captain Bligh discovered, when he came upon deck, several of the crew, and most of the officers pinioned; and while he was thus contemplating their perilous state, the ship's boat was let over her side, and all who were not on the part of the conspirators, to the number of eighteen, besides the captain, were committed to the boat, and no other nourishment afforded to them than about one hundred and forty pounds of bread, thirty pounds of meat, one gallon and a half of rum, a like portion of wine, and a few gallons of water. A compass and quadrant were secured by one of these devoted victims, as he was stepping into the boat; and the mutineers, after giving them a cheer, stood away, as they said, for Otaheite. The captain in this dreadful situation, found his boatswain, carpenter, gunner, surgeon's-mate, two midshipmen, and one master's mate, with Mr. Nelson the botanist, and a few inferior officers, among those who were likely to share his fate. After a short consultation, it was deemed expedient to put back to the Friendly Islands; and, accordingly, they landed on one of these, in hopes they might improve their small stock of provisions, on the 30th of April; but they were driven off by the natives two days after, and pursued with such hostility, that one man was killed and several wounded. It was then deliberated whether they should return to Otaheite, and throw themselves on the clemency of the natives; but the apprehension of falling in with the *Bounty* determined them, with one assent, to make the best of their way to Timor. To effect this enterprize, astonishing to relate, they calculated the distance, near four thousand miles; and in order that their wretched supply of provisions might endure till they reached the place of destination, they agreed to apportion their food to one ounce of bread and one gill of water a day for each man. No other nourishment did they receive till the 5th or 6th of June, when they made the coast of New Holland, and collected a few shell-fish; and with this scanty relief, they held on their course to Timor, which they reached on the 12th, after being forty-six days in a crazy open boat, too confined in dimensions to suffer any of them to lie down for repose, and without the least awning to protect them from the rain, which almost incessantly fell for forty-days. A heavy sea and squally weather, for great part of their course, augmented their misery. The governor of this settlement which belongs to the Dutch, afforded them every succour. They remained here to recruit their strength and spirits till the 20th of August, when they procured a vessel to carry them to Batavia. They reached Batavia on the 2d of October, and thence captain Bligh, and two of the crew, embarked for the Cape of Good Hope, and the rest were preparing to follow as soon as a passage could be obtained. Captain Bligh reached the Cape about the middle of December, and soon after took his passage for England, which he reached on the evening of the 13th of March, 1790, and on the day following he arrived in London. The leader of the mutineers is named Fletcher Christian, a man of respectable family and connections, and a good seaman. He was of the rank of master's mate of the *Bounty*, and served regularly the watch, from the time the ship sailed from England. The command of the *Bounty* thus devolving upon him, there was no possibility of defeating his purpose; as not the least previous circumstance could be traced, from the testimonies of the faithful part of the crew, after they were in the boat, of a mutiny being on foot. The mutineers were to the number of twenty-five; and those who remained firm to

their duty nineteen; consequently, had the slightest suspicion been entertained of the design, it might have been easily frustrated, as all the principal officers remained faithful to their commander*.

On the 27th of April advice was received that the *Guardian* man of war, lieutenant Riou, commander, on her voyage to New South Wales, had struck on an island of ice, on the 23d of December, 1789, that every attempt to save the ship being deemed impracticable, on Christmas day, the greatest part of the crew left her; but that lieutenant Riou himself, notwithstanding the entreaties of his officers, persisted in remaining on board to the last; and that there was no doubt but that this gallant man had fallen a sacrifice to too nice a sense of duty. One of the four boats, in which were the reverend Mr. Crowther, the chaplain; Mr. Richard Farquharson, the purser; Mr. Thomas, the master; Mr. Wadman, master's mate; Mr. Sommerville, the gunner; Mr. Trimlett, one of the midshipmen, and six seamen, ten days after she left the *Guardian*, met with a French merchantman, eighty leagues from Cape Natal, who carried them into the Cape of Good Hope; whence they were conveyed to St. Helena in a French frigate. Late on the evening of the following day intelligence was received of the safe arrival of the *Guardian* man of war at the Cape of Good Hope, after one of the most miraculous escapes ever remembered. The news was brought to the admiralty, by the master of a fishing vessel lying off Dungeness; who had been hailed by the captain of a Dutch packet from the Cape, passing through the Channel, who had given him a letter from lieutenant Riou, at the Cape, to be forwarded to the admiralty, which letter contained the particulars of the escape. The *Guardian* had had a most favourable passage to the day on which she met with the accident, having been only three months from Portsmouth to the time of her leaving the Cape. She had proceeded thence towards Botany Bay, as far as latitude 44 deg. south, longitude 41 deg. 30 min. east, when, on the night of the thirteenth day of her departure from the Cape, she struck on an island of ice, the base of which projected under water, considerably beyond the limits of the visible part, and struck the bow of the ship; she instantly swung round, and her head cleared; but her stem coming on the shoal, struck repeatedly, and the sea being exceedingly heavy, her rudder broke away, and all her works abaft were shivered. The ship in this situation became embayed, as it were, under the terrific bulk of ice. The height was twice that of the mainmast of a ship of the line. The prominent head of the ice was every moment expected to break away, and overwhelm the ship. At length, after every practicable exertion, she was got off the shoal, with six and a half feet water in her hold. The island of ice was only discovered one minute and a half before the ship struck on it. By the exertions of the crew in stopping the leak with oakum and canvas, the water was reduced to two feet, in the course of the next day; and great hopes were entertained of saving the ship; but the gale of wind increasing, the stoppage of the leak gave way, and the water poured in again rapidly, the leak increasing to near ten feet.

The ship being discovered to be strained in all her works, and the sea running high, every endeavour to check the progress of a particular leak proved ineffectual. An immediate project was fixed on to lighten the ship, and the cows, horses, sheep, and all other live stock, for the colony, were, with the fodder, committed to the deep. The only chance of safety now appeared in

* It is conjectured, that the plot was projected while captain Bligh was engaged on shore, at Otaheite and other islands, collecting plants and making charts. This officer holds the rank of lieutenant only in our navy. His merit pointed him out to the admiralty as highly qualified for this expedition; and the distresses he has undergone entitled him to every reward. In navigating his little skiff through so dangerous a sea,

his seamanship appears as matchless, as the undertaking seemed beyond the verge of probability. Mr. Nelson, the botanist, died soon after the boat left Timor. This gentleman went out with his majesty's particular approva.; and a secondary object of the voyage was to collect curious plants for the botanic garden at Kew.



Illustrated by

The distressed situation of the CREW of the GUARDIAN FRIGATE after having struck upon an Island of Ice

Warren, July

Dec. 23, 1789.

Published Dec. 21, 1791, by W & J. Sturges, No. 111, Holborn Hill.

Engraved for Ashburton's History of England.



Lieut. Bligh and his crew of the Ship Bounty hospitably received by the Governor of Timor.

Bromley sculp.

taking to the boats. On the morning of the 25th, therefore, the boats belonging to the ship were hoisted out, being previously rigged and provisioned, and part of the crew left her, as has been mentioned. In this hopeless state the ship continued for some days, without a rudder, and wholly unmanageable; but the application to reduce the water in her hold was resumed, whenever the weary remainder of the crew felt the return of strength: and thus was the Guardian kept afloat, till a Dutch packet-boat from Batavia, providentially steering a high southerly latitude, fell in with her, and affording her aid of men and materials, enabled her to make her way back to the Cape of Good Hope, and kept her company during her course. The Guardian was full four hundred leagues from the Cape when she fell in with the island of ice. The crew consisted of one hundred and twenty-three persons, of whom twenty-five were convicts. It was at captain Riou's express permission, that any of the boats left the ship, and the captain had rather advised the measure, wishing to save as many lives as he could, considering all attempts to save the ship fruitless, though he had himself from the first moment, resolved to perish in her, ninety of the crew remained by her, and returned safe to the Cape. The Guardian was exactly eight weeks making the course of something less than four hundred leagues, and in that time the crew were scarcely dry for an hour together. An awning of sail-cloth was extended over part of the quarter-deck to afford occasional rest to the men in their short respites from duty *.

On the 25th of November, the new parliament assembled, and on the day following his majesty opened the session by a speech from the throne. He began with testifying his satisfaction that the differences of the court of Spain had been brought to an amicable termination. He informed parliament, that since the last session a foundation had been laid for a pacification between Austria and the Porte, and for putting an end to the dissensions in the Netherlands. He remarked, that a separate peace had taken place between Russia and Sweden; but as the war still continued between the former of these powers and the Porte, he intimated an intention of employing the weight and influence of Great-Britain in restoring the general tranquillity. On the 30th an address was moved by Mr. Mainwaring, and seconded by Mr. R. P. Carew, which was carried without a division.

On the 15th of December came on the subject of the ways and means for defraying the expences incurred in the armament against Spain, concerning Nootka Sound. It was brought forward by the chancellor of the exchequer, who stated the expence incurred by the late armament to be; for the navy, one million five hundred and sixty-five thousand pounds; army, sixty-four thousand

pounds; ordnance, one hundred and fifty-one thousand pounds; provisions to the East and West-Indies, forty-one thousand pounds; making in the whole one million eight hundred and twenty-one thousand pounds; to which was added the vote of credit expended, one million of pounds: so that the total expence of the armament was two millions eight hundred and twenty-one thousand pounds. From this, however, two hundred thousand pounds might be deducted for naval stores on hand; but this he should avoid, wishing to have every expenditure, occasioned in any degree by the armament, stated separately, and separately provided for: upon this principle, he should include the expence of the addition of six thousand seamen, at three hundred and twelve thousand pounds; so that there were left to be provided for three millions one hundred and thirty-three thousand pounds. This addition of debt, Mr. Pitt said, he hoped the house, considering the *great resources* of the country, would meet with energy. They ought not to be content with finding the means to defray the interest, and leave the capital a permanent burden. With this view, he felt it incumbent upon him to produce a plan of ways and means, which would in a short period clear the whole of the debt. The first resource for this purpose, which he should suggest, was the balance of issues of public money, which had accumulated from unpaid dividends in the hands of the bank of England: By the yearly accounts of the bank it appeared that this balance had been increasing from the year 1727, and on the 5th of July, 1789, amounted to five hundred and forty-seven thousand pounds. On the 12th of October there was a floating balance of six hundred and sixty thousand pounds; and there was just grounds to believe that this would still continue to increase. It was his intention, therefore, to avail himself of this dead balance to the amount of five hundred thousand pounds, which he should take for the public use, and one hundred and sixty thousand pounds would then be left for the discharge of arrears. His next object was, to propose such *temporary* taxes as might serve to discharge the whole of the remainder in the course of four years. The first tax would be upon an article of general consumption, sugar, which now paid twelve shillings and eight-pence *per cwt.* to which he should propose an addition of two shillings and eight-pence, which would raise two hundred and forty-one thousand pounds. The second tax would be on spirits, and would consist of one sixth additional tax, which would make, on home spirits, eighty-six thousand pounds; brandy, eighty-seven thousand pounds; rum, sixty-seven thousand pounds: in all two hundred and forty thousand pounds. A tax on malt, of three-pence per bushel, he proposed for two years only, which would amount to one hundred and twenty-two thousand pounds. The

* The following are authentic copies of captain Riou's letters to the secretary of the admiralty:

"H. M. S. Guardian, Dec. 25, 1789.

"If any part of the officers or crew of the Guardian should ever survive to get home, I have only to say, their conduct after the fatal stroke against an island of ice, was admirable and wonderful in every thing that relates to their duties, considered either as private men or in his majesty's service.

"As there seems to be no possibility of my remaining many hours in this world, I beg leave to recommend to the consideration of the admiralty, a sister, who, if my conduct or services should be found deserving any memory, their favour might be shewn to, together with a widowed mother. I am, Sir, remaining with great respect, your ever obedient servant,

"E. RIOU."

"Sir,

"Table Bay, Feb. 22, 1790.

"I hope this letter will reach you before any account can be given of the loss of his majesty's ship Guardian. If it should, I am to beg you will make known to their lordships, that on the 23d of December the ship struck on an island of ice, and that on the 25th, all hopes of her safety being banished, I consented to as many of the officers and people to take to the boats as thought proper. But it pleased Almighty God to assist my

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endeavours with the remaining part of the crew, to arrive with his majesty's ship in this bay yesterday. A Dutch packet is now under sail for Europe, which prevents me from giving any further particulars, especially as at this instant I find it more necessary than ever to exert myself to preserve the ship from sinking at her anchors. I am, Sir, most respectfully, ever your obedient servant,

"E. RIOU."

A letter from lieutenant Edward Riou, commanding his majesty's ship Guardian, to Mr. Stephens, dated Table Bay, March 15, 1790, was received at the admiralty in August, of which the following is an extract:

"Be pleased to inform their lordships, that I am now preparing to get the ship into Sandanba Bay, by endeavouring, as much as possible, to stop the leak within board, and that I purpose mooring her there close to the beach, at low water, in a cove where no wind or sea can affect her; the which, if I am so fortunate as to accomplish, I mean then to return here myself, in order to preserve as much as possible such provisions and stores as have been landed.

"I have enclosed an account of the officers, crew, &c. that were saved in his majesty's ship."

The number of persons that arrived in Table Bay with the Guardian were sixty-two.

next tax was ten *per cent.* on all assessed taxes, excepting the commutation and land tax; and lastly, a double tax on game-keepers, and one-third additional on game-licences. The sums to be raised respectively would then be on sugar, two hundred and forty-one thousand pounds; British spirits, eighty-six thousand pounds; brandy, eighty-seven thousand pounds; rum, sixty-seven thousand pounds; malt, one hundred and twenty-two thousand pounds; assessed taxes, one hundred thousand pounds; game-licences, twenty-five thousand pounds: in all seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds. To these he proposed to add one permanent tax, which consisted in a further regulation of the tax already existing upon bills of exchange. Should these propositions be carried into effect, the consolidated fund would gain five hundred thousand pounds from the bank, and eight hundred thousand pounds of the produce of the first year, in the sum of one million three hundred thousand pounds, which sum he should move to be issued from it for the year 1791: and as a temporary resource for the remainder, he would propose the issuing of one million eight hundred thousand pounds in exchequer bills. With respect to the five hundred thousand pounds of unclaimed dividends, it was recommended by Mr. S. Thornton to the minister to consult the bank directors concerning the approbation of that sum, which was afterwards more strongly pressed by Mr. Fox and others. In fact, after much hesitation and contest, the minister was obliged to relinquish this part of the plan, and content himself with accepting from the bank a loan of that sum without interest, as long as a floating balance to that amount should remain in the hands of their cashier. The other arrangements relative to this subject were carried into effect.

This month a very important business engaged the attention of the British legislature; it was the war which had for some time been carried on between the subjects of his Britannic majesty in the East-Indies and Tippoo Sultan. Mr. Hippeley proposed on the 22d, that copies of the correspondence relative to the attack of Tippoo Sultan on the lines of Travancore should be laid before the house. Mr. Hippeley supported his motion by a statement of the particulars as far as he had been able to inform himself of the transaction, and insisted principally on the ancient feudal claim of the Sultans of Mysore to the forts of Cranganore, &c.; on the pacific intentions of Tippoo; and on the report of his offer to submit the dispute to an equitable arbitration. He considered the purchase of the fort by the rajah of Travancore as the effect only of an unwarrantable ambition, and as a fair cause of uneasiness and complaint to the neighbouring powers. Travancore he allowed to be the ally of Great-Britain, who had certainly guaranteed all her lawful possessions: but he asserted that it was a most mischievous principle, that we were bound to protect her in every ambitious scheme for the extension of dominion, whether by purchase or otherwise. Such, he said, were his doubts as to the justice of the war; but his doubts as to its policy were not less formidable. The native powers, he asserted, neither were, nor could be, radically friendly to the English. Little dependence was to be placed upon the Nizam or the Marhattas: both these powers were notorious for their perfidy. However flourishing our force in India, there was reason to believe that Tippoo had kept equal pace with our improvement. He had a force of one hundred and fifty thousand men, a large corps of Europeans well officered, an admirable artillery well served. He had a revenue of five millions sterling, and a treasury of eight or nine millions. To these resources we had to oppose an exhausted treasury, and a tottering credit. Mr. Hippeley deprecated a war in India, and entered into a forcible detail of the difficulties and miseries which would attend it in that part of the world, declaring himself altogether of Mr. Gray's opinion, as given on another occasion, "That war was the chief of political evils: and that any peace which was consistent with the honour of the nation, was better than the most successful

war." Mr. Francis supported Mr. Hippeley's reasoning, by shewing that it had been considered by all good statesmen, and by the British legislature, that to increase our territories in India was a destructive policy to this country. He enforced his argument by another observation of equal authority, that it was the policy of this nation to avoid all alliances with the native powers of India, as they only tended to lead us into dangerous and expensive connections. Between the Nizam and Tippoo there subsisted a mutual jealousy, by means of which they might be prevented from employing their power to the prejudice of our settlements. The Marhattas again were the most formidable power in India; and on this account it would be dangerous to extirpate Tippoo, even were it in our power, as he served particularly to maintain the balance of India. Mr. Fox observed, that the extirpation of Tippoo would not be a politic measure: however we might detest his vices, with the Mysorean country, we ought to be friendly inasmuch as it was a strong barrier between the most powerful states of India and our settlements. Mr. Pitt, Mr. D. Scott, and colonel Macleod, supported the necessity of the war, and represented Tippoo as a merciless tyrant. The question was however carried in favour of the production of the papers.

On the 28th of February, 1791, Mr. Hippeley followed up his former motion on the Indian war; but his ill state of health only permitted him to move the reading of the acts of parliament and resolutions of the house of commons, which prohibit the British governors in India from entering into offensive war. The reading of these was followed by that of several extracts from the correspondence of the government and council of Fort St. George, tending to establish the ill policy of such measures, and particularly with Tippoo Sultan. After the reading of these papers, Mr. Francis rose at the request of Mr. Hippeley, and in a very able speech explained the causes of the war, which he entirely attributed to the policy of the Dutch, and the ambition and imprudence of the rajah of Travancore. He said it was a mistake to suppose that a war in India did not effect the best interests of Great-Britain; for India did not possess the means of supporting the war for a single hour, but by incurring debts which must be paid by England. Compared with this, he added, if extended to any length, a war with Spain would be a blessing; a war in Germany, or even in America, would hardly be a calamity. He urged the necessity of adhering to that system established by law, which positively forbade the servants of government, or the India company, engaging in offensive wars. He censured the appointment of a military officer over the immense civil as well as military government of Bengal, observing, that the preservation of peace could not be the predominant passion of men educated in a camp. From a civil to a military, from a military to an arbitrary government, the gradations are easy, and the progress rapid. The same facts which counteract principles to-day, will be precedents to-morrow, and principles the day after. He requested the attention of the house to a paper on the table, the treaty of alliance offensive and defensive concluded lately with the Nizam. That war and conquest should be the object of an offensive alliance, was not extraordinary, after what they had just heard read to them, that a British governor should profess that the acquisition of territory was his object in making war, that he should propose or think of making a new partition of dominion, or even accept of an extension of territory, if it were offered him. Mr. Francis remarked some other singularities in the treaty; such as, that the rajah's name was never mentioned in it; that the pay of the cavalry was not specified, &c. In speaking of the expences of the war, Mr. Francis produced several authentic documents, to prove that the resources of India were utterly inadequate to them. He endeavoured to shew that the rajah was the aggressor, in making what Mr. Francis termed a collusive purchase from the Dutch: the aggressor, he said, should alone be answerable for his aggression; and

as to the forts themselves, they were on all hands allowed to be of no use or importance, and ought in fact to be demolished. In the single article of bullocks we incurred an expence of above seven hundred thousand pounds *per annum*; and general Meadows very freely declares, that we must be undone by procrastination. He pressed the necessity of preserving the balance of power in India, by keeping Tippoo as a counterpoise to the Mahrattas; and quoted, in support of his opinion, the authority of Mr. Dupré, Mr. Hastings, lord Clive, and several others. Mr. Francis concluded with a series of motions, the object of which was to censure the origin, and prevent the prosecution of the war. Major Maitland observed, that the cause of the war was the great object of enquiry, because upon that depended every consideration. The war had been occasioned, he said, by the ambition of the rajah, and not of Tippoo Sultan. The alliances which he had formed in India he styled "alliances of division, and treaties of ruin!" There were four great powers in India, the British, the Mahrattas, the Mysorean, and the Nizam. It was our business to balance these powers. We had less to fear from Tippoo than from any other, as he could only come down upon us through six narrow passes easy to defend (the Ghauts): whereas, if we had a quarrel with the Mahrattas, all our frontier would be exposed. A long and a successful war, he said, was a contradiction in terms; for what was the acquisition of a dirty province, weighed against the expence of three or four millions?

Mr. Fox remarked that lord Cornwallis had originally taken up the matter in the proper point of view; he had condemned the purchase of the forts in the strongest terms; but had afterwards unfortunately altered his opinion, why he could not conceive. With respect to the hostile preparations of Tippoo, it was an argument that scarcely deserved an answer. He reprobated the treaties which had been entered into with the Nizam and the Mahrattas for the extirpation of Tippoo. At a time when the enlightened policy of all Europe led them to renounce their offensive alliances, we were pursuing this disgraceful system in India. The rajah he asserted, was the aggressor even to us, by purchasing the forts contrary to our advice. But supposing Tippoo to have been the aggressor, what right had we to ask for more than adequate satisfaction? We censured his conduct, but did not look at the injustice of our own. He professed to have a claim upon Cranganore, and aimed at recovering his right. But what do we? We carry the war into the center of his dominions, extirpate him, and divide his territories.

Mr. Wilberforce, lord Fielding, and the solicitor-general, supported the conduct of administration, and Mr. Francis's motions were negatived. Not satisfied, however, with this triumph, Mr. Dundas, on the 2d of March following, moved three resolutions, approving of the Indian war and of the conduct of lord Cornwallis, which were carried without a division. But as the subject was so much exhausted in the two preceding debates, it would be treading beaten ground to report the arguments. The expediency of the war was debated upon nearly similar principles in the house of lords, on the 11th of April; but the debate ended only in the triumph of ministers; as lord Grenville, before the house broke up, moved three resolutions, similar to those which had been moved in the commons, approving of the conduct of lord Cornwallis, &c. which were carried by a great majority.

The cause of toleration received this year an accession, which must be peculiarly grateful to the friends of freedom. It is remarkable, that notwithstanding the radical freedom of our constitution, no nation in Europe has been more jealous of their religious establishment; and scarcely have the Roman catholic states themselves loaded with a more oppressive weight of civil penalties those who dissented in religious opinion. It has for almost half a century been the task of the legislature, to root out, gradually and cautiously, from the code of our

laws those disgraceful statutes which groundless apprehension in many instances, and perhaps actual necessity in a few, had caused to be enacted: they are not yet entirely removed; but in proportion as the peaceful influence of philosophy shall extend over the minds of men, we have little doubt but all parties will see the absurdity of sacrificing the cardinal virtue charity at the shrine of vain speculation: and as the fears and jealousies of mankind shall subside, in the course of a few years every trace of persecution will fade away. As the Romish church was the grand terror in the first ages of reformation, it was scarcely matter of surprize that our statute-book should be loaded with the most rigorous and sanguinary edicts directed against the professors of that noxious faith; and though in the year 1780 some of these were removed, yet in the year 1791, in a well-known book, Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, not less than seventy pages were to be found, entirely occupied with the bare enumeration of the penal statutes in force against the Roman catholics. Among these were some of the most sanguinary nature. It was high-treason and death to make a convert to the Roman catholic faith. Severe penalties were enacted on papists for hearing mass, by some statutes; and by others they were compelled to attend the established worship, however contrary to their consciences. That such laws should have been framed in times of difficulty and danger, in times when the church of Rome flourished in all the vigour of temporal power, and urged her authority by all the rigours of persecution, and all the artifices of bigotry, is not surprising that they should have been suffered to remain in force for centuries of peace and tranquillity, when the power of the pope is annihilated even in countries professing his religion, and when all noxious principles of that faith are disavowed by its professors. A reform in the penal statutes became the more necessary, since, in the course of the year 1790, a large body of catholic dissenters had formally protested against the temporal power of the pope, against his assumed authority of releasing men from their civil obligations, or dispensing with the sacredness of oaths. It was upon these principles, and supported by these arguments, that Mr. Mitford moved, on the 21st of February, for a committee of the whole house, to enable him "to bring in a bill to relieve, upon conditions and under restrictions, persons called protesting catholic dissenters, from certain penalties and disabilities, to which papists, or persons professing the popish religion, are by law subject." This bill, Mr. Mitford added, would be similar to that which had passed in Ireland some years since; and as no ill consequences had resulted in a country where the Roman catholics were so much more numerous than in this, he should hope the house would see no impropriety in the proposition; and the motion passed unanimously. On the 21st of March, agreeable to the orders of the house, the house resolved itself into a committee on Mr. Mitford's proposal, and the bill proceeded through its several stages without opposition.

We have before-mentioned the progress which had been made in the important question concerning the abolition of the slave trade. Early in the present session Mr. Wilberforce gave notice of an intended motion for appointing a committee for receiving and examining evidence on that subject; and on the 4th of February he submitted a motion to that effect, which was opposed by colonel Tarleton and others, on the frivolous ground that there were many other objects on which we might exercise our philanthropy; and which were ably supported by Mr. Burke, on the principle that the argument was absurd; that, because there were several acts of charity to be performed, we ought to neglect the one in hand; and that, on the contrary, the best mode of getting through the acts of charity necessary to be performed, was to bring that first to an end which was begun. After a short debate, the motion of Mr. Wilberforce for a committee above stairs was put and carried. It was not, however, till the 18th of April, that the business was in such a degree of forwardness as to enable

enable Mr. Wilberforce to press for the abolition. On that day he opened the debate with a most copious display of the leading arguments in favour of that measure; and concluded with noticing the beneficial effects that might result from a fair and open commerce with Africa, which was capable of producing the most desirable commodities; the slave trade did not deserve the name of commerce. He said, let the fate of his motion be what it might, he was satisfied of one thing, which was, that "the public had already abolished the slave trade." Supported by this consideration, he should continue to persevere, and would never abandon the object till he had accomplished it. He concluded with moving, "That the chairman be instructed to move for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the further importation of African negroes into the British colonies."

Mr. Fox in his speech on this occasion instanced two acts of inhumanity, at the bare recital of which the most hardened heart must shudder. In one of the French islands a poor negro had run away; to prevent his repeating the offence, and as a common punishment for such offences, the planter ordered the surgeon to amputate his leg; but the surgeon, who had more humanity than his master, refused. "You refuse," said the planter; "then what you decline as an act of friendship to me, I will force you to do as an act of duty;" and immediately broke the poor wretch's leg in a barbarous manner. The other instance occurred in an English island. As one of the evidences, Mr. Ross, was walking along, he heard the most dreadful shrieks proceeding from a barn or outhouse. On looking in, he perceived a young female tied up to a beam by her wrists, entirely naked, writhing and swinging about, while the author of her torture was applying a lighted torch to different parts of her body as it approached him! Mr. Wilberforce's motion was, notwithstanding the cruelties mentioned in the course of the debate, negatived by a majority of *seventy-five*!

The establishment of the colony at Sierra Leona on the coast of Africa will, in the opinion of some, prove detrimental to the interests of the West India planters; it being established for the express purpose of cultivating West-India and other tropical productions. A bill for

chartering the company was introduced on the 28th of March by Mr. Thornton.

While several of the topics which we have just noticed remained in agitation before the British senate, the attention of that body was called to another object, not less important to the interests and welfare of the nation. On the 28th of March a message was delivered from his majesty, importing that the endeavours which he had used, in conjunction with his allies, to effect a pacification, not having proved successful, his majesty judged it requisite, in order to add weight to his representations, to make some further augmentation of his naval force. As soon as Mr. Pitt had moved, "That the message be taken into consideration on the morrow," Mr. Fox rose, and deplored the circumstance of their having fallen into a situation so unfortunate and so unexpected. Reserving himself for the consideration of the message, he asked the chancellor of the exchequer, whether he meant only to move a simple address of thanks to his majesty for the communication, or whether he meant to include in the vote an approbation of the measure? If the latter were to be the case, he trusted the doctrine of confidence had not yet proceeded so far, that they would hastily profess themselves ready to support the king's expences, without having before them any ground of information whatever. Mr. Pitt answered, that it had not been usual to delay the consideration of a message from his majesty longer than a day; and in the present case, there were many reasons why the business ought not to be deferred. He intimated also, that a vote of supplies would be included in the answer to the message. On the day following the debate came on, when several weighty arguments were used in opposition to the armament against Russia; but notwithstanding all that was said, the question was carried in favour of the address by two hundred and twenty-eight votes against one hundred and thirty-five.

The attention of the house was again called to this important subject on the 11th of April by Mr. Grey, who said that he had intended to introduce a motion for a committee on the state of the nation; but having been given to understand from high authority, that an objection would be taken against such a committee, he was induced to wave that object, and to come before the

* In the course of his speech Mr. Wilberforce directed the attention of the committee to the manner in which slaves were obtained on the coast of Africa. This vast country, he observed, was divided into districts of different sizes, some governed by kings, and others, and those the greater part, by elders. The state of civilization was in general very imperfect, their notions of morality extremely rude. It was natural, therefore, that when the kings or chieftains were tempted by the pressing solicitations of appetite to acts of injustice and oppression, they would not be slow in the commission of them. This maxim, founded on the principles of human nature, accorded with the most authentic accounts. To begin with the river Senegal: captain Wilson and captain Hills of the navy, and Mr. Dalrymple of the land service, being at Goree, had an opportunity of making observations in that quarter. On the arrival of the slave ships, armed parties were regularly sent out in the evening, who scoured the country, and brought in their prey in the night: these wretched victims were to be seen, bound back to back, in the huts on the shore; whence they were conveyed, tied hand and foot, on board the slave ships. The object of these depredations was confirmed, beyond all doubt, by the fact, that when the slave trade was stopped, these expeditions also ceased. This representation, he observed, was confirmed by several other witnesses; who added, that these ravages, excited by presents of brandy, gunpowder, &c. were not only carried on by one community against another, but the kings were stimulated to commit them, in their own territories, on their own subjects. Individuals also were kidnapped whilst in their fields and in their gardens. There was a universal sentiment of distrust and apprehension. On the windward coast, by the evidence of lieutenant Story and Mr. Brewman, they would find all the fore-mentioned evils existing, if possible, in a still higher degree. They would see the remains of villages which had been burnt, whilst the fields of corn were still standing by them. Here an agent was sent to establish a settlement in the interior country; and his instructions from his employers were, "to encourage the

chieftains, by brandy and gunpowder, to go to war, and make slaves." Mr. How, a botanist in the service of government, gave in evidence, that, on the arrival of an order for slaves from Cape Coast Castle, the native chief immediately sent forth his armed parties, who, in the night, brought in a supply of all descriptions. When captain Hills was in the river Gambia, happening to mention to the black pilot that he wanted a cabin boy, the pilot told him he might soon obtain one; and, accordingly, some youths being on the shore with vegetables to sell, he beckoned them on board, and at the same time intimated that he might then take his choice. When captain Hills rejected the proposal with indignation, the pilot seemed perfectly at a loss to account for his warmth, and dryly observed, that slave captains would not have been so scrupulous. When general Rooke commanded at Goree, a number of the natives, about a hundred and fifty, men, women, and children, came to pay him a friendly visit. All was gaiety and merriment. It was a scene to gladden the saddest, and soften the hardest hearts. But a slave captain is not so soon put off his guard. Three English barbarians of this description preferred it as their joint request to general Rooke, to seize the whole unsuspecting multitude; alleging the precedent of a former governor, who in a similar case had consented. Such were the just arguments used by Mr. Wilberforce against this atrocious trade. And in the prosecution of this speech, he observed, that a vessel of a hundred and twenty tons, commanded by captain Knox, carried two hundred and ninety slaves, and forty-three other persons, the slaves had not room to lie on their backs, and yet captain Knox had declared, "they slept tolerably comfortable!" Another vessel of one hundred and eight tons carried four hundred and fifty slaves; and a third of a hundred and fifty tons, six hundred. He next adverted to the instance of an African captain; who, on a slave refusing to eat, had ordered *hot coals* to be held to his mouth, till he consented to take food.—Such were the diabolical practices to obtain possession of slaves!

house directly with the following propositions: 1. "That it is at all times, and particularly under the present circumstances, the interest of this country to preserve peace. 2. That it is neither reasonable or just to take up arms for the purpose of dictating terms of peace between two nations engaged in hostilities, without any reference either to the cause of the disputes, or the circumstances of the war. 3. That the refusal of an offer of mediation is no just cause of war. 4. That during the progress of the war between Russia and the Porte, and since the taking of Oczakow, this house has received repeated assurances from the throne that the situation of affairs continued to promise to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace. 5. That, convinced of the truth of the assurances which we have received from the throne, this house has hitherto considered the interests of Great-Britain as not likely to be affected by the progress of the Russian arms on the borders of the Black Sea. 6. That we are not bound by any treaty to furnish assistance to any of our allies, except in the case of an attack upon them. 7. That none of the possessions of this country, or any of its allies, appear to be threatened with an hostile attack from any foreign nation. 8. That the expence of an armament must be burthensome to the country, and is, under the present circumstances, as far as this house is informed, highly inexpedient and unnecessary." These resolutions were opposed by lord Beigrave, Mr. Pybus, Mr. Ryder, Mr. J. T. Stanley, Sir William Young, and Mr. Dundas; and supported by major Maitland, lord North, Mr. Powys, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Sheridan. On the side of the ministry a degree of confidence was claimed, not on vague or indefinite ground, but on the unequivocal and sure one of their former merits. Peace it was said, was certainly preferable to war; but even war was preferable to dishonourable tranquillity. At length, after much debating, Mr. Grey's resolutions were negatived by a majority of eighty.

The question was agitated a third time on the 15th of April, on two motions being made by Mr. Baker, the first expressing it as the duty of the house, before they proceed to any additional burthens on their constituents, to enquire into the justice and necessity of the objects; the second stating, that no information had been given to the house on the present occasion. Mr. Baker's motions were both negatived by a majority of ninety-two. When the house divided on the proposed address, there were ayes one hundred and fourteen, noes two hundred and eight.

The business of the session being concluded, his majesty proceeded to the house on the 10th of June, when he delivered a speech from the throne, in which he expressed his satisfaction at the circumstance, that a mode had been adopted for defraying the expences of last year without any permanent addition to the public burdens. He intimated his regret at not being able to acquaint them with the result of the negotiation for peace between Russia and the Porte, thanked the commons for the supplies, and prorogued the parliament to the 16th of August.

Soon after the rising of the parliament, the nation was disgraced by a series of outrages and violences, as unprovoked and wanton as have ever darkened the annals of a civilized people, and which, for the space of four days, spread terror and alarm through the large and opulent town of Birmingham, and the adjacent country. A vast difference of sentiment concerning the French revolution prevailed among the higher orders of society in this country; and the same difference of sentiment seemed to pervade the inferior classes. This difference of opinion at length broke out in a settled hatred; and considerable pains were taken by certain journalists to excite the passions and prejudices of the populace against the asserters of Gallic liberty. On the other hand, a considerable body of the whig party in Great-Britain rejoiced in the emancipation of a neighbouring nation from slavery, and flattered themselves that they saw in the establishment of the French constitution, not only the

annihilation of despotism in that country, but the commencement of a new system of politics in Europe, the basis of which was peace, happiness, and mutual concord. In most of the larger towns of Great-Britain, associations were formed for the celebration of that event by the anniversary dinners on the 14th of July; but the opposite party were not indifferent spectators of these proceedings. The populace were inflamed by the most injurious insinuations conveyed in newspapers and pamphlets: the friends of the French revolution were stigmatized as determined republicans; and the act of joining in a convivial meeting on the *odious* 14th of July was represented as an attempt to overturn the British constitution in church and state. Notwithstanding the pains which had been taken to depreciate these associations, the meeting in London consisted of not less than one thousand five hundred respectable gentlemen, many of them literary characters of high reputation and distinguished virtue. As, however, rumours had been spread to the disadvantage of the meeting, and the populace appeared to collect in a tumultuous manner round the Crown and Anchor Tavern, where the meeting was held, the company dispersed at an early hour. At Birmingham the causes of discord were more numerous than even in London. According to Dr. Priestley's statement, a violent animosity had subsisted for years between the high church party and the dissenters of that place; the cause of which the doctor candidly attributes to the circumstance of the latter being possessed of all the principal civil power, and constantly nominating to the civil offices. The religious controversies which took place between Dr. Priestley and some of the clergy of Birmingham greatly contributed to increase this animosity; and on the application for the repeal of the test act some serious disturbances were even apprehended. In such circumstances, it is not surprizing that the ignorant part of the inhabitants should confound the cause of the French revolution with that of dissenters, especially since the majority of that persuasion have from the revolution in 1688 been firmly attached to the whig system, and since Dr. Priestley, whom the populace considered as at the head of the dissenters there, had distinguished himself by opposing the celebrated pamphlet of Mr. Burke. From the publication indeed of the doctor's pamphlet on that subject, it is said that the profane habit of drinking "damnation and confusion to the Presbyterians," at the convivial entertainments in the town was visibly increased. A festive meeting in commemoration of the French revolution was projected at Birmingham on Thursday the 14th of July; and on the preceding Monday six copies of a most inflammatory and seditious hand-bill, proposing the French revolution as a model to the English, and exciting them to rebellion, were left, by some person unknown, in a public house. As the contents of this hand-bill were pretty generally circulated, they caused some ferment in the town: the magistrates thought it proper to offer a reward of one hundred guineas for discovering the author, printer, or publisher of the noxious paper; and the friends of the meeting intended for the 14th, thought it necessary at the same time to publish an advertisement explicitly denying the sentiments and doctrines of the seditious hand-bill, and disavowing all connections with its author or publisher. The views and intention of the meeting having, however, been much misrepresented, the majority of the gentlemen who projected it thought it advisable to relinquish the scheme; accordingly notice was given to that effect; but at the instance of Mr. Russell, as it is said, the intention was revived; and the company met at the appointed time to the number of between eighty and ninety. The ingenious Mr. Keir, well known for his great attainments in chemistry and other branches of philosophy; and a member of the established church was placed in the chair. The gentlemen had scarcely met before the house was surrounded by a tumultuous crowd, who testified their disapprobation by hisses and groans, and by the shout of "Church and King," which became the watch word on this occasion.

At five o'clock the company dispersed; and soon afterwards the windows in the front of the hotel were demolished, notwithstanding the appearance and interference of the magistrates. The mob insisted further on searching the house; and four or five of their own body entered and examined the apartments, but found none of the guests remaining. Dr. Priestley did not attend the festival, but dined at home at Fairhill with a friend from London. After supper they were alarmed with the intelligence that the mob were assembled at the new dissenting meeting-house (Dr. Priestley's,) and were threatening both the doctor and his house. The rioters soon set the meeting on fire, and nothing remained that could be consumed. The old meeting-house shared almost a similar fate; but it was considered, from its situation, as dangerous to be set on fire; it was therefore completely emptied of its pulpit, pews, &c. which were burned in the adjoining burying-ground, and the building itself nearly levelled with the ground. About half past nine o'clock at night, Mr. Ryland, one of Dr. Priestley's congregation, came with a chaise to Fairhill, and informed the family that they must lose no time in effecting their escape. With nothing more than the clothes they had on, the doctor and his family got into the chaise, and proceeded a mile further to Mr. Russell's; but here they were informed that the mob had nearly destroyed Dr. Priestley's house, and would immediately proceed to that in which they then were. They therefore got into the chaise a second time, and drove to Mr. Hawke's, half a mile further from the town. From this station they could distinctly hear every shout of the mob, and the blows of the instruments which were employed to break down the doors. The whole of the doctor's library, his valuable philosophical apparatus, his manuscripts and papers, were destroyed by the mob. Dr. Priestley, before he left the house, had the precaution to put out the fires; the mob therefore were not able to burn the shell of the house; they attempted in vain to draw fire enough from his electrical machine, and it is asserted that they even offered two guineas for a lighted candle. The day broke on the succeeding morning, only to discover the ruins which this insatuated multitude had made, and to enable them to continue their depredation. Early in the morning they were met by a party of gentlemen, who persuaded them to follow them into the Bull-ring, and prevailed on several of them to desist, and even assist in their endeavours to preserve tranquillity. About noon, however, a fresh party demolished the elegant mansion of Mr. Ryland, formerly Mr. Baskerville's, at Easyhill. Here, as they found a profusion of liquor, a dreadful scene of intoxication ensued; and several of the wretched rioters perished in the cellars by suffocation, or by the falling in of the roof. Six terribly bruised were dug out of the ruins, and committed to the hospital; ten dead bodies were found, and one man remained alive in one of the vaults till the Monday following, when he worked his way out with but little injury*. It was in vain that the magistrates swore in an additional number of constables; a severe conflict ensued between them and the mob; several persons were severely wounded, and the civil power at length was forced to retire. Many other elegant seats and houses were likewise destroyed, till, at length, by the arrival of the military, a stop was put to their depredations. A great number of persons were taken in the act of rioting; of whom five were tried at Worcester, and one was found guilty and executed. At Warwick twelve were tried, but only four received sentence of death, viz. Francis Field, for setting fire to Mr. Taylor's house; John Green and Bartholomew Fisher, for demolishing the house of Dr. Priestley; and William Hands, for destroying the house of John Ryland. Esq. Upon an application from the

magistrates, and some other respectable inhabitants, Fisher was afterwards reprieved.

In the afternoon of the 2d of February, this year, there was the highest flood-tide in the Thames that had been known for several years. Above Westminster-bridge it overflowed the banks of the river on both sides. In Palace-Yard it was near two feet deep; it also ran into Westminster-Hall, so as to prevent people passing for two hours. Boats came through the passage of Old Palace Yard from the Thames, and rowed up to Westminster-Hall gate. The inhabitants in Milbank-street were obliged to pass to and from their houses in boats. The two Scotland Yards and Privy-Gardens, Whitehall, were entirely under water, and many parts rendered impassable for two hours. People were obliged, in those places, to be taken from their houses on men's backs, and several poor people who kept small shops near the barracks in Scotland-Yard, had four feet water in their shops, and their beds floating in their rooms. Westminster-Hall suffered much; the water ran in at the great door for upwards of an hour, and was up to the second stair leading to the court of king's-bench. The damage done in the warehouses on the wharfs, on both sides of the river, was immense; they were overflowed almost without exception. The ground-floor of the Albion Mill was covered, and a great quantity of flour wetted. The water overflowed the Custom-house quay, Tower-wharf, Bankside, Queen-hithe, great part of Tooley-street, Wapping High-street, Thames-street, &c. and filled all the adjoining cellars; and most of the gardens and fields between Black-friars road and Westminster-bridge were overflowed.

In August advices were received that ministerial notes had been delivered at St. Petersburg by William Whitworth, and Mr. Fawkener, and count Goltze, on the part of his Britannic majesty and of the king of Prussia, and by count Osterman on the part of the empress of Russia, relative to the terms of pacification between Russia and the Porte. In these notes, the ministers of his majesty and the king of Prussia agree, on the part of their respective sovereigns, that their majesties will propose to the Porte to conclude a peace with Russia, on the terms of the cession of the district of Oczakow, from the Bog to the Dniester; her imperial majesty engaging not to disturb the free navigation of the latter river, but to favour and protect it, (to which condition the Porte is to be equally and reciprocally bound,) and her imperial majesty being also to restore to the Porte at the conclusion of the peace, all other conquests whatever. The minister of her imperial majesty agrees, on the part of his sovereign, to make peace on these terms; and the ministers of his majesty and the king of Prussia agree, on the part of their respective sovereigns, that if the Porte should decline to enter into negotiation on this basis, their majesties will leave the termination of the war to the course of those events to which it may lead. The preliminaries were signed at Petersburg, on the 4th instant, by the plenipotentiaries of Great-Britain, Prussia, Holland, and Russia.

On the 23d of November, the duke and duchess of York were married at St. James's. The ceremony was performed by the archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the bishop of London: his majesty standing at one end of the altar, and her majesty at the other extremity; the duke and duchess of York in the center; the archbishop opposite to them, and the lord chancellor standing behind him; the prince of Wales next to the duchess of York, and the duke of Clarence next to the duke of York.

On the 31st of January, 1792, his majesty went to the house and opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which he noticed the marriage of the duke of York with the eldest daughter of the king of Prussia,

* Among the articles consumed at Mr. Ryland's, was the body of the late Mr. Baskerville, who by will ordered he should be buried in his own house, and he was accordingly in-

terred there. A stone closet was erected in it, where he was deposited in a standing posture. The house was afterwards sold with this express condition, that it should remain there.



The Plenipotentiaries of GREAT-BRITAIN, PRUSSIA, HOLLAND & RUSSIA, signing the Preliminaries of Peace, at Petersburg between the EMPRESS & the Czar, the 8th of Aug. 1791.

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Engraved for Ashburtons History of England.



Her Royal Highness Princess
FRIDERICKE CHARLOTTE,
(DUCHESS of YORK.)

Published by the Author by H. K. & Co. Agents 1 No. Holborn Hill

Engraved for the Illustrations of the History of England.



His Royal Highness Prince Frederick,
DUKE OF YORK, BISHOP OF OSNABURGH,
EARL of ULSTER, &c.

Published as the Act directs Dec^r 17 1791 by W & J. Sturford N^o 112 Holborn Hill.

and acquainted them with the conclusion of peace between the emperor of Germany and the Porte, and also between the emperors of Russia and the Porte, through the mediation of the court of Great-Britain. An address being moved in the house of commons violent debates ensued, in the course of which Mr. Grey moved an amendment, "That the house, fully sensible of the evils of a protracted war, which must be ruinous to the finances of the company, cannot help expressing their regret that the prospects held out in the speech from the throne at the commencement of the last session have not been realized; nevertheless, that their attachment to his majesty, and their desire to support the honour of his crown, are undiminished." The debates were again renewed, and, after some altercation, the house divided on the question of amendment; ayes eighty-five, noes two hundred and nine. The original address was then moved and carried without a division.

The subject of the war in India was again brought before the house in February, and was reprobated by Mr. Fox in the strongest terms. He took occasion to advert to the doctrine of with-holding communication during war, or negotiation, and contended, that that house had a right to such communications as should enable them to form opinions before the executive government had brought affairs to a conclusion.

February 17, the chancellor of the exchequer presented a copy of the treaty entered into between his Britannic majesty and the king of Prussia, dated January 26, 1792, on the marriage of his royal highness the duke of York with the princess of Prussia. It was afterwards passed into a law. On the 7th of March, Mr. Pitt moved, "That his majesty be enabled to settle the sum of eighteen thousand pounds *per annum* upon his royal highness the duke of York." He further stated, that it was his majesty's intention to settle an additional sum of seven thousand pounds *per annum* upon his royal highness out of his Irish revenue, which together with twelve thousand pounds *per annum* he now enjoys, makes the sum of thirty-seven thousand pounds *per annum*; the additional revenue to commence July, 1791. He then moved, "That a sum of eight thousand pounds *per annum* be settled upon her royal highness the duchess of York, in case she should survive." Both motions were put and carried unanimously.

On the 2d of April the order of the day was read, for the house going into a committee on the African slave trade, Mr. Hobart in the chair. Mr. Wilberforce, after a considerable portion of introductory matter, calculated to rouse the attention, and awaken the feelings, of the house, entered at large into his subject. He began by stating, that, since the question had been first agitated, the importation of slaves into the West-India islands had been considerably increased. Into the island of Jamaica alone there had been thirty-seven thousand slaves imported in the two last years. He next took a review of the manner in which negroes were procured in Africa; enlarged upon the disgrace which he thought the trade brought upon our national character, from the conduct of those who were engaged in it. The passage of the slaves from the West-Indies, he contended, was not bettered by any thing that had been done, nor could it be by any thing that would be done. He then proceeded to state, that the trade, in place of being a nursery, was the grave of our seamen; and, having spoke for upwards of three hours, he concluded with moving, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that the trade, carried on by British subjects for the purpose of obtaining slaves on the coast of Africa, ought to be abolished." And, "That the chairman be directed to move the house for leave to bring in a bill for the abolition of the slave trade."

A long debate afterwards followed, in which Mr. Bayley, Mr. Vaughan, colonel Tarleton, and others, bore a part. Mr. Dundas moved an amendment, to insert the word *gradually*, which was seconded and supported by the speaker. Mr. Fox was for the original motion. Mr. Jenkinson partly agreed with the amend-

ment, but moved that the house do now adjourn. The chancellor of the exchequer was for the original motion. The question was put upon Mr. Jenkinson's motion for adjournment, and negatived by a division of ayes eighty-seven, noes two hundred and thirty-four. The question of amendment was next put on the motion so amended, for the gradual abolition of the slave trade, and was carried by a division of ayes two hundred and thirty, noes eighty-five. Majority one hundred and forty-five. On the 17th of the same month Mr. Wilberforce moved, "That there be laid before the house, an account of the number of ships employed in the slave trade, their tonnage, the number of slaves purchased, whence, and where to, &c. from June 1790, to January 1791. Ordered. On the 23d the house resolved itself into a committee, to consider of measures to be taken for the gradual abolition of the slave trade, Mr. Beaufoy in the chair. Mr. Dundas begged leave to debar the discussion of the subject till the 25th, when, after a short preface, he moved his first resolution, *viz.* "That it shall not be lawful to import any African Negroes into any British colonies or plantations in ships owned or navigated by any British subjects at any time after the 1st of January, 1800." Lord Sheffield defended the supporters of the trade from the charge of inhumanity. Lord Mornington, in a speech of considerable length, delivered his sentiments, and complimented Mr. Dundas on the industry and abilities he had manifested in consolidating and bringing forward such a system in so short a time, but was decidedly of opinion, that the execrable system, called the slave trade, ought not to be suffered a moment to exist: he therefore moved the following amendment, *viz.* that, after the words "at any time after" should be inserted "the 1st of January, 1793." Mr. Beaufoy expressed his reprobation of the abominable traffic in question. Colonel Phipps was against the amendment. Mr. Ryder avowed his conviction of the rectitude and policy of an immediate abolition, and pronounced his recantation of the former sentiments he had entertained respecting this traffic. Messrs. Pitt, Fox, and Wilberforce, were for the amendment; after which the house divided, ayes one hundred and nine, noes one hundred and fifty-eight. On the question for adjourning of the debate; ayes one hundred and sixty-five, noes ninety-seven. On the 27th the house went into a committee to consider farther of the proposition for a mode of abolishing the slave trade. Lord Mornington moved, that, instead of the 1st of January, 1800, the resolution should be, that the abolition should take place in 1795. Messrs. Hobart and Drake supported the motion. The speaker thought the plan of a gradual abolition intimately connected with plans of regulation; and these regulations may make the trade so unprofitable to the merchant, and the purchase so inconvenient to the planter, that the traffic, by a natural operation, would decline and die of itself. But immediately, and, as it were, unexpectedly, to disturb a property, must certainly be attended with very serious consequences. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, though he urged strongly the necessity of an immediate abolition, closed his speech with giving his support to the amendment. Colonel Tarleton resisted most strongly the amendment, as proposing an abolition sudden, violent, and ruinous. The Master of the Rolls and lord Carhampton were against the amendment. Mr. Wilberforce declared his motive in persevering in the abolition of the slave trade to be the wish to do his duty to his Maker by an act of benevolence and justice. He contended that the period had long since arrived when the abolition ought to have taken place, and when it might, as it now would, with perfect safety to our islands, and to the interest of our planters. Not having been able to obtain an earlier period for the abolition, he gave his support to the amendment. Mr. Fox was for the amendment, contending, that every year we continued the trade, we should continue it to the sacrifice of fourteen or fifteen thousand lives. The amendment was rejected on a division. After which Sir

Edward Knatchbull moved, that the trade do cease on the 1st of January, 1796: which on a division was carried, there being for it one hundred and fifty-one, against it one hundred and thirty-two. On the 2d of May, Mr. Long reported the resolutions of the committee on measures for the abolition of the slave trade. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in order to expedite the business, thought it would be right to put the lords in possession of what had been already done. He therefore moved, "That a conference be desired with the lords on a business highly important to the justice and honour of the nation; and that the earl of Mornington acquaint their lordships with that desire." This motion was agreed to. May 4, the house came to the resolution to allow a bounty of one hundred pounds to every captain, and fifty pounds to every surgeon, of a ship employed in the slave-trade, on board whose ship the mortality of negroes, during the middle passage, should not exceed two out of each hundred; and a smaller bounty when the mortality should not exceed three out of each hundred.

Mr. Fox rose to make his promised motion, on the 11th of May, for the repeal of certain penal statutes, passed in the reign of king William. He began by stating his opinions of toleration; and enforced, by a variety of arguments, the justice of the cause in which he now came forward. He gave up for the present the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts; he saw no chance of their being carried, as, in the general opinion, such repeal threatened the religious establishment of the country. The laws which he now wished to be repealed, were those only which were a disgrace to our statute books, and which of course ought to be expunged. They aimed at a particular description of men, the Unitarians, whose principles he contended to be good, and conduct unexceptionable. After enumerating a variety of acts which he meant should be included in the principle of his motion, he moved, "That the 9th and 10th of William III. be repealed, and that the said motion be referred to a committee of the whole house." Mr. Burke said, no man could be a greater advocate for proper toleration than he was; but then the sacredness of the Church Establishment should be the first object; and which he asserted, was one and the same thing with the state. The claims of the present petitioners were of so questionable a shape as to require much consideration. He then took a full view of those persons and their professions; he asserted, that they were a set of *Propagandists*, with Dr. Priestley at their head, who, not content with the quiet enjoyment of their own opinions, sought industriously to make proselytes of the world, and so to sap the very foundation of the most sacred of all religions, and subvert all order in society. They had a settled plan for this purpose, and had subscribed five hundred pounds for the purchase and distribution of books countenancing their opinions, and they now called for the repeal of certain acts of parliament, by which every obstruction to the completion of their views would be removed. He then mentioned the circumstance of a meeting which took place at the Nag's head, in February, 1791, of a few of the heads of the petitioners, in which Dr. Priestley was in the chair; and created much risibility by his remarks on the bumper toasts. He read various extracts from several books, written by members of the society, which, he said, indicated their projects to overturn the constitution, as well as the Established Church; and their correspondence with the licentious clubs of France he particularly condemned. The house divided; for Mr. Fox's motion sixty-three; against it one hundred and forty-two.

On the 15th of June, his majesty repaired to the house of lords, and after a speech, as usual, from the throne, he prorogued the parliament to the 30th of August.

On the 1st of March, 1792, the ground in a meadow, part of the farm or estate of Stanley, the property of the right hon. the earl of Loudale, suddenly sunk to the depth of some feet, making a circular break on the surface. Immediately after, a torrent of water was

heard, which appeared to rush out from various parts of the broken soil; and falling, as it was conjectured, into a receptacle which could not at that time be perceived, occasioned a most tremendous noise, while the shrinking was evidently increasing upon the surface. In the morning, this extraordinary spot was visited by numbers of people. The aperture then exhibited the appearance of an immense funnel: it was yet enlarging, consequently no admeasurement could be made: but the computation generally agreed to was from sixty to seventy yards in diameter, and thirty yards in depth to the vortex, the diameter of which appeared to be about six or seven yards. During this time, large heaps of earth were falling from the sides, and water gushing out in an amazing abundance; the water also was sometimes forced up a considerable height above the vortex, or gulph, as if from a *jet d'eau*; the whole presenting to the eye a scene of the most awful and horrible grandeur, while the ear was filled with sounds the most terrifying and alarming, often resembling distant thunder, as the deluge poured into the subterraneous workings of Scalegill colliery, which, it is said, is now rendered useless. It was a land sale colliery of small compass, and the coal nearly exhausted. Providentially, the people employed in it had quitted their work a short time before the sinking happened.

At Kettering, in Northamptonshire, on the 2d of the same month, a quarter before nine in the evening, an earthquake was felt, and at several of the neighbouring towns, which continued near thirty seconds. It was preceded by a violent crash over head (as described by some;) by others as a violent concussion in the air; and by all as an earthquake, which extended near forty miles round; but was attended with no perceptibly pernicious effects, other than causing a general alarm. The shock was sensibly felt throughout the counties of Bedford, Leicester, Nottingham, Rutland, and Lincoln. At Biggleswade some old houses were thrown down, but no lives lost. At Nottingham many of the inhabitants ran into the streets, expecting their habitations to fall; at which place the shock was preceded by a violent rumbling noise, like the rolling of a cannon ball upon a floor, and there was an uncommon tremor in the air before and during its continuance.

In May this year, a large body of the lower class of people assembled in the market place at Coventry, and after manifesting symptoms of riot, by loud huzzas and much disturbance, entered the shambles, which, in a short time, they cleared of all the meat, as well as all the utensils belonging to the butchers; and as some of them were so improvident as to leave their books behind them, those generally went to wreck in the confusion. The doors, shutters, fire-places, &c. were also broken down, and the broken wood collected to make a fire in the market-place; but the mayor, calling in the military, some troops of the sixth regiment of dragoons lying at this time in the town, and prudently addressing the mob, he prevailed upon them to depart, having first assured them, that, if they still persisted, he would make use of the power which the law had entrusted to him. On the following morning a great number of people assembled again, and seemed to threaten a further riot: the mayor himself went among them, endeavouring to dissuade them from any more disorders; and one or two butchers setting up a stall in the market-place, and offering their meat at reduced prices, the peace of the town was restored. On the afternoon of the following day the people assembled again, and their threats seemed chiefly against the master shoemakers; it being confidently asserted, that men's shoes were sold at two shillings a pair less at some other places than at Nottingham, and women's in proportion. However, through the vigilance of the magistrates, assisted by the military, the mob were dispersed, without any material damage.

In the evening of the 9th of May, it was discovered that an attempt had been made to set the house of commons on fire. The discovery was made by a man who lives under the house, who, smelling something burning

ing caused a search to be made, when, over a water-closet, nearly under the house, they found a hole broken in the ceiling, and a pair of old worsted breeches on fire, between the laths and plaster of the joists, stuffed with combustible matter; but, providentially, before the laths caught fire, the discovery was made.

In December this year the ministry began to be alarmed at the growth of republicanism, from its rapid progress in France; and, to prevent any disorders, the tower was put in a posture of defence, the Bank double guarded, the environs of the capital billeted with soldiery, and several regiments of cavalry ordered into the neighbourhood of London. On the 13th of the same month, his majesty went to the house of peers, and opened the session with a speech from the throne, breathing hostilities against France, and proposing an augmentation of the army and navy to check their proceedings, as well as to curb that spirit of tumult and disorder in this kingdom, which began to be truly

alarming. A message to this effect, from his majesty, delivered to the speaker by Mr. Dundas, was read from the chair, the members being uncovered. After a debate on the subject of his majesty's message, the chancellor of the Exchequer moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, thanking him for his most gracious communications to the house, and assuring him of their zeal and readiness to furnish that augmentation of forces required by his majesty for the purpose stated in the message."

In the debate on this motion, Mr. Fox declared that he should shrink from his duty to his constituents, and to the people at large, if he did not deprecate a war with France as the greatest calamity in which this nation could be involved. The death of the French king * he conceived to be an event as disgraceful as the page of history could furnish; notwithstanding which he did not see the propriety of the parliament of Great Britain expressing any opinion on this public

* As affairs now stand between Great-Britain and France, it seems necessary to give a detail of the principal events during the revolution of that country.

In July, 1789, one of the most extraordinary revolutions took place in France that ever happened in the political world. The monarchy was overturned, and the king, being divested of his absolute authority, became one of the most limited sovereigns. He was afterwards, by a decree of the National Convention, styled king of the French. But as so great a change as that wrought in the internal policy of France could not be supposed to have been effected in a short period of time, the nation, as might easily be imagined, experienced various commotions, jealousies, and dissensions, till the king's acceptance of the new constitution in the beginning of September, 1791. We shall, however, begin our detail of the most material matters of fact with the escape of the royal family from Paris. And accordingly, in the night between the 20th and 21st of June, 1791, the king and queen made their escape from the palace of the Tuilleries in Paris, and took the route towards Mons. On the 21st it was decreed that all persons should be stopped from going out of the kingdom. The king and queen were arrested at Varennes. June 25th, it was decreed, among other things, that the king should return to the Tuilleries, under the guard of the commandant-general; and that the king and queen should be heard in their own defence. July 7, it was decreed, that all the people of France should have a right to go out of the kingdom, and should return at their pleasure. September 1, the king, attended by a deputation of sixty members, went to the National Assembly, and amidst the applauses of those august senators, solemnly consecrated the assent which he had given the preceding day, to the constitutional act. On the 30th of the same month he issued a proclamation, in which he declared, "that he had accepted the constitution, and that the revolution was completed." In December following the emperor of Germany published a manifesto, wherein he declared against France. To this manifesto the king of the French returned a spirited answer. April 19, 1792, the National Assembly declared war against the king of Hungary. On the 12th of May it was decreed, "That the immense heap of papers and parchments, which relate to the late nobility, and were collected from various monasteries, &c. and deposited in the church *des Grandes Augustins*, shall be burned." Six hundred volumes were accordingly burned on the 19th of June. On Sunday the 6th of August the city of Paris was alarmed early in the morning by an attempt made by the king to escape from the Tuilleries. Upon being recognized by a sentinel, he sent for the mayor of Paris, and told him, that he had gone out solely to take a walk. The king was in the habit of a peasant. On the following day a petition, signed by several thousand people in the Champ de Mars, and requesting the deposition of the king, was presented to the National Assembly. Long and interesting debates now took place on this important circumstance, and on Sunday, August 12, the assembly passed the following decree: "First, the hotel of the minister of justice shall be inhabited by the king. Second, he shall be furnished with a guard, subordinate to the mayor of Paris, and to the commandant of the national guard, who shall be answerable for his safety, and that of his family. Third, there shall be a sum of five hundred thousand livres allowed to pay his expences, untill the moment of the National Convention meeting." The hotel of the minister of justice not being deemed a safe place, the Temple was afterwards chosen, and the assembly passed a decree for conducting the royal family to that place. It being suspected, that several persons of rank had been concerned in the robbery of the Jewel office, the convention, Sept. 24, decreed, "1. The French republic no

longer acknowledges princes; 2. The National Convention, in consequence, suppresses all appanages." In the beginning of this month (September) dreadful commotions took place in the metropolis of France, on receiving the news of the siege of Verdun. The populace were irritated to that degree that they forcibly entered several prisons, and put to death a vast number of persons whom they suspected; among whom were the princesses Lamballe, M. Montmorin, and about three hundred ecclesiastics who refused to take the oaths prescribed by the legislature. A few days after the above horrid massacre, fifty-two state prisoners, who had been confined at Orleans, were conveyed to Paris and instantly put to death. About the close of the same month the French opened the navigation of the Scheldt. On the 11th of December the *ci-devant* king was carried to the bar of the National Convention; when the reading of the act of accusation against him by Barbaroux, was followed by a long discussion, wherein much calumny was made use of. After he was seated, the instrument of accusation and the interrogatories were read by M. Maille; to all of which the king returned spirited and determined answers. On the 26th he was again brought to the bar with his counsel, when he was informed by the president, that the convention had decreed, "That he should be heard definitively that day." M. Romaine Deseze, one of the king's counsel, read his defence; which being concluded, the king addressed the convention in a short but animated speech. After long and violent debates it was decreed, "That the further discussion of the proceedings against Lewis XVI. is open, and shall be continued without any other business interfering, till judgement be pronounced upon him. On the 15th of January, 1793, a profound silence having taken place, and the appeal nominal being finished, the president examined the register, and made the following report: "Of seven hundred and forty-five members that form the convention, six hundred and ninety-three have voted for the affirmative, [DEATH,] twenty-six are absent upon public business, twenty-six have made different declarations; but not a single person has voted for the negative." But notwithstanding this a scrutiny among the votes took place, and on the 17th the president made the following declaration: "That, out of seven hundred and twenty-one votes, three hundred and sixty-six were for death, three hundred and nineteen for imprisonment, eight for a suspension of the execution of the sentence of death till after the expulsion of the family of the Bourbons, twenty-three were for not putting him to death, unless the French territory was invaded by any foreign power; and one was for death, but with commutation of punishment." After this enumeration, the president took off his hat, and lowering his voice, said: "In consequence of this, I declare, that the punishment pronounced by the National Convention against Lewis Capet, is DEATH." On the 19th it was decreed by the National Convention, that the sentence passed upon Lewis XVI. should be put in execution within twenty-four hours. Three hundred and eighty voted for immediate death, and three hundred and ten for a suspension of the sentence. On the 21st, the French king was executed in the Place de Revolution, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. Lewis XVI. was beheaded by an instrument now too well known to require a description. On the 30th of March a decree of accusation was passed against general Dumourier, (one of the most skilful officers that ever took upon himself the command of an army,) and four commissioners, with Hournonville, the minister at war, were sent to arrest him. Having founded the dispositions of his army, and declared his intentions, he arrested the commissioners, whom he sent prisoners to general Clairfayt, and made a temporary truce with the Austrians.

off, unless it was alleged as a ground affecting this country.

About this time the king sent a circular letter to the bishops, commanding them to cause a collection to be made in every parish throughout England, for the relief and benefit of the French emigrant clergy; when such a vast sum of money was collected as to furnish an additional proof of the generosity and liberality of the English. A convention was also signed in April, between the kings of England and Sardinia, in which his Britannic majesty engaged to pay two hundred thousand pounds per annum, during the continuance of the war, to the king of Sardinia.

The business of the Session being closed, the king went to the house of peers on the 21st of June, and delivered a speech, in which he mentions his having concerted with other powers for the effectual prosecution of the war, and flatters himself with the best prospect of a happy issue to the important contest in which we were engaged; recommending perseverance in vigorous exertions, to obtain the great end to which his views were uniformly directed, the restoration of peace on such terms as might be consistent with our permanent security, and with the general tranquillity of Europe. The parliament was then prorogued to the 13th of August next ensuing.

On the 1st of February following, war against Great Britain and Holland was decreed in the French national convention; soon after which the duke of York set out for Holland to take the command of the British forces destined to serve in the ensuing campaign on the continent, in conjunction with the allies, against the French. After engaging in several hazardous enterprises, the strong and important town of Valenciennes became an object of his attention, the siege of which commenced on the 14th of June. The island of Tabago, in the West Indies, which had been ceded to Great Britain at the peace of 1763, and returned to the French by the treaty of peace in 1783, was successfully attacked by a small detachment of British forces under the command of major-general Cuyler in April this year. The whole of the British force, destined for the reduction of this important island, consisted of about five hundred men. In this expedition the English had three men killed, and twenty-five wounded, and the French had fifteen killed and wounded. On the 14th of May the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were also taken by the English under brigadier-general Ogilvy and captain Affleck. These islands had been ceded to the French by Great Britain at the peace of 1763, for the purposes of curing and drying their fish.

On the 20th of June the *Nymph* frigate, captain Pellew, of thirty-six guns, arrived at Portsmouth, with the *Cleopatra* French frigate of the same force, which she captured on the morning of the preceding day, off the Start, after a most severe action of fifty minutes. The *Cleopatra* was a commodore of five other frigates sent to protect the trade of France, which had separated from the fleet, and, on coming within hail of the *Nymph*, gave her three cheers, coming fairly and by consent into action. The first broadside from the French frigate cleared captain Pellew's fore-castle, and towards the close of the action the *Cleopatra's* wheel was shot away, when she fell on the *Nymph's* quarter; and the English, with infinite gallantry and resolution, boarded the enemy, and cut every thing before them. Upwards of seventy of the French fell in boarding, and the killed or mortally wounded in the French ship amounted to ninety. The chief captain of the *Cleopatra* was fatally wounded early in the action, and did not live to see his colours struck: the second captain also died of his wounds. The *Nymph* likewise suffered severely, having the boatswain, four midshipmen, and twenty-two seamen killed; and the second lieutenant, the lieutenant of marines, and twenty-two seamen and marines wounded. The *Cleopatra's* mizen-mast was carried away about twelve feet from the deck;

her jib-boom, with part of her bowsprit and head, went into the water, and her sails and rigging were shot to pieces. The *Nymph* was also wounded in her hull and masts, but captain Pellew's judicious management prevented her from being severely injured.

For the sake of perspicuity, the historian sometimes finds it essentially necessary to deviate from the strict order of chronology: in the present case it seems perfectly allowable, that a succinct account may be given of the war, which was the consequence of the last Gallic revolution. Hostilities were preparing on the part of Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, &c. and France manifested a determination to oppose the united attacks of all despotic sovereigns. War and desolation now began their ravages, and such enterprises have been achieved as have thrown all Europe into a consternation.

Not to dwell upon trivial matters, which our proscribed limits will not admit of, we shall begin with the exploits of Dumourier, who succeeded to Fayette's command on his retreat. Dumourier had the reputation of being intrepid, cool, and sensible, and an officer of great military talents. Meanwhile the advance of the combined armies through the deserts of Champagne, demanded every precaution. A camp was formed at Chalons, whence Luckner was to supply the armies of Dumourier, Kellerman, and Bournonville, with reinforcements, and support them in case of a defeat. Yet it was computed, at this critical time, that these three armies did not exceed forty thousand men, of whom Dumourier had seventeen thousand. Dumourier and Kellerman were separately attacked by the enemy: the assault of the latter at Dampiere, on the 20th of September, was formidable, and repelled with great skill and courage. The former ordered Chalons to be evacuated, and seized a strong position at St. Menchould, between Chalons and Verdun: the Prussians advanced to Flahs; a decisive engagement was daily expected; and the destruction of the French armies was considered as inevitable.

Affairs were thus situated when the national convention assembled at Paris, on the 21st of September. The assembly willingly resigned the superintendence of public business, which had exceeded its capacity and powers, into new hands. On the first day of the meeting of the national convention, the *Abolition of Royalty in France* was decreed by acclamation; and on the following day, it was ordered that all public acts should be dated *The First Year, &c. of the French Republic*. No sooner was the democracy declared, than the genuine republican spirit shone forth, in the answer given by the French to the Prussian king, refusing to treat till the enemy had evacuated the territories of the republic. A report was circulated through Europe, that the French general had laid down his arms, either from treachery or despair, and that the Prussians had advanced within ten leagues of Paris, when they suddenly adopted the resolution of an inglorious retreat. Prussia offered to withdraw her armies, and enter into an alliance with France, provided that due regard was shewn to the French king, in the new order of affairs. This was refused; the Prussians and Austrians retreated, and France immediately commenced her career of, at least, temporary success.

The retreat of the Prussians and Austrians was followed by the re-capture of Verdun and Longwy, and the raising of the sieges of Thionville and Lisle, after a fourth part of the latter noble city had been destroyed by the Austrians. The invasion of Savoy was now projected. On the 21st of September, the day on which the convention met, general Montesquieu entered the Savoyard territories, seized on the frontier posts and castles without resistance, and two days after took Montmelian and Chambery; and all Savoy soon followed; but no military glory was acquired, as there was no resistance. After frequent declarations that the French would in future enter into no war with any view to conquest, their conduct in this respect was absurd and impolitic; it subjected them to the merited reproach

reproach that, under the pretence of liberty, they maintained the destructive maxims of their ancient government. Any further transactions in the south are hardly entitled to narration. Admiral Truquet, commanding a squadron in the Mediterranean, captured Nice, Villa Franca, and the fortrefs of Montalban, belonging to the Sardinian king.

Having thus briefly mentioned the progress of the arms of France in the south, their more surprizing success in Germany and the Netherlands demands attention. The conquest of Savoy was not much regarded; but when general Custine began his acquisitions in Germany, every eye was turned to the rapidity and importance of his progress, till diverted by the wonders of Dumourier. Spire yielded to the French arms on the 13th of September, and Worms soon followed: ample supplies of provisions and ammunition were found in these cities. Custine, pursuing his course along the left shore of the Rhine, next captured Mentz, and afterwards Frankfort; but the latter was speedily retaken.

The conquest of the Austrian Netherlands forms another grand object. Towards the conclusion of the month of October, Dumourier published his manifesto to the Belgians, or the people of the Netherlands, declaring his intention of entering their territories to erect the tree of liberty, and deliver them from the Austrian yoke; and promising that, if they would establish the sovereignty of the people, and renounce the sway of despots, the French would become their brethen, friends, and supporters. The general had proposed to pass his Christmas at Brussels, which was thought a ridiculous vaunt at the time he made the declaration, but that city was actually in his hands by the 14th of November. Having entered the Netherlands on the first or second of that month, with an army of forty thousand men, afterwards much increased, and with a most formidable train of artillery, repeated engagements with the Austrian army, commanded by the duke of Saxe-Teschen, and by general Beaulieu, took place on the first five days. At length, on the 6th of November, a decisive battle was fought at Jenappes, which decided the fate of the Netherlands. After an obstinate defence, the Austrians retired at two o'clock in the utmost disorder: their loss, in the various engagements, amounted to about four thousand killed and wounded, besides about fifteen hundred prisoners and deserters. The killed and wounded, among the French, were about one thousand.

Dumourier, immediately advancing, took possession of the neighbouring town of Mons: Tournay surrendered to a detachment on the 8th of November. Dumourier, having refreshed his troops at Mons, proceeded to Brussels, where after an indecisive engagement between his van and the Austrian rear, he was received with acclamations on the 14th of that month. Ghent, Charleroi, Antwerp, Malines or Mechlin, Louvain, Ostend, Namur; and, in short, all the Austrian Netherlands, except Luxemburgh, successively followed the example of the capital. Ruremond, the principal city of Austrian Guelderland, submitted to Miranda on the 11th of December.

No sooner had Antwerp yielded to the French arms, than, in order to conciliate the Belgians, the opening of the navigation of the Scheldt, (shut up by the Treaty of Munster in 1648) was projected and ordered. The Dutch considered this measure as injurious to their trade, because Antwerp might prove a dangerous rival to Amsterdam. The first disposition, manifested by Great Britain to break with France, regarded the navigation of the Scheldt. The court of St. James's declared an alliance with the Dutch, and the French formally issued a declaration of war against Great Britain.

Before we review the reverse of fortune respecting Dumourier, we shall just notice the bombardment of Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia, under the command of admiral Truquet, but the admiral failed in his attempt.

This disaster, however, was trivial, compared with the hasty retreat and final defection of general Dumourier in the Netherlands. Soon after that general quitted Holland, and personally assumed the command of the disconcerted armies of Valence and Miranda, the forces of the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait attacked him with a vigour that astonished him, as he had but a few months before driven the same troops out of France, and through the Netherlands into Germany. He saw, with mortification and dismay, the laurels of Jenappe wither on the plains of Tirlemont.

On the 14th of March the Imperialists advanced from Tongres towards Tirlemont, by St. Tron, and were attacked by general Dumourier on the 15th and the following days: the first attempts were successful, the Austrians advanced posts were obliged to retire to St. Tron through Tirlemont, which they had already passed. On the 18th a general engagement took place, the French army being covered by Dormael, and on the right by Landen: the action continued with great obstinacy on both sides, from seven in the morning till five in the evening, when the French were obliged to fall back, and the Austrian cavalry coming up, put them entirely to flight: the loss, on both sides, was considerable.

About this time Dumourier described the army as in a state of the utmost disorder, and as not having provisions for more than ten days: he said it was impossible for him to stop the progress of the enemy, who, without amusing themselves with sieges, might, with an army of twenty thousand cavalry, lay waste and reduce to ashes all that part of the country, which lies in the vicinity of the metropolis. Such is the outline of affairs preceding the final defection of that celebrated general from the republicans of France, whose conduct, and not their cause, he seems to have disapproved.

Convinced that no dependence was to be placed upon the majority of his army, Dumourier, with two regiments of horse, and accompanied by young Egalité, and some other officers, determined to repair to the enemy at Mons. His conduct has occasioned many conjectures and suspicions: he has since appeared in Switzerland, England, &c. but hardly any country seems inclinable to harbour him. His departure from England was in consequence of a peremptory order for that purpose.

Amidst this accumulation of external misfortunes, the country of France was at this period internally agitated by the most formidable insurrections in different parts; a great number of royalists assembled on the banks of the Loire, and threatened the reduction of Nantz. In the department of Vendée, they assumed the denomination of the Christian army: many skirmishes took place between these and the republican troops, in which both parties were occasionally victorious.

General Custine, finding Mentz closely besieged by the forces of the king of Prussia, attempted to succour that place on the 10th of May, and succeeded beyond his expectation. He advanced at the head of a very numerous army, and attacked general Wurmsier, whom, after a vigorous resistance, he obliged to retire beyond Queich. He afterwards, with part of his forces, made an attack upon the Prussian corps, commanded by the hereditary prince of Hohenloe, at Carlsberg, to the duchy of Deux Ponts, when the latter, after a brave resistance, was obliged to yield to superior numbers, and abandon that important post.

To enumerate the particular actions which followed, between the combined armies and the French republic, would not only be tedious and uninteresting, but inconsistent with the plan of brevity which this History of England has adopted. Many of these engagements were for a long time trilling and indecisive, and the defeats and victories so nearly equal on each side, that it could not with certainty be pronounced on which side the advantages predominated; till on the 10th of July, 1793, the governor of Condé consented to surrender that place to the Imperial forces, under the command

of the prince of Wirtemberg, by whom it had been for a long time blockaded. This was thought a conquest of the utmost importance, Condé being one of the strongest places of the frontier, requiring but a small garrison for its defence, commanding the navigation of the Scheldt, and facilitating any future operation.

This acquisition was succeeded by another of very great importance: on the 28th of the same month, the town and castle of Valenciennes surrendered to the combined army under the command of his royal highness the duke of York. The most dangerous, as well as the most laborious parts of the siege, fell to the lot of the imperial troops. It was computed that upwards of six thousand men marched out of the place; the rest being sick or wounded; part of which remained in the hospitals, and the rest followed in waggons. The garrison was escorted to the first advanced posts of the enemy.

His royal highness, after several less momentous exploits, intended on the 24th of August to attack the enemy, who were posted at some distance from Dunkirk, in order to get possession of the ground which it was necessary to occupy, previous to the siege of that place. The enemy hastened the execution of his design, by attacking the out-posts between the canal of Furnes and the sea. Lieutenant-general Dalton advanced with the reserve, which was encamped on that side, to their support; the enemy were repulsed, and driven with loss into the town; one piece of cannon, and a few prisoners were taken. The ardour of the troops carried them farther in the pursuit than was intended, in consequence of which they came under the cannon of the place, and sustained a considerable loss. Lieutenant-general Dalton was killed with a cannon shot, towards the conclusion of the attack. The duke had also to lament the loss of lieutenant colonel Eld, of the Coldstream regiment, and of other valuable men.

The position afterwards taken by the duke of York, was the most judicious imaginable and the most favourable to the besiegers. It was between the canal leading from Dunkirk to Furnes, and the sea-coast.

An unfortunate event took place on the 8th of September. The French army made an attack upon that of field-marshal Freytag: the latter was posted on the right upon the canal, the left extending towards Leyrel. The enemy had made an attack the preceding evening, in which they had been repulsed; but on that day attacking upon every point, notwithstanding the greatest exertions of bravery in the troops, and of ability in general Walmoden, who then commanded them, they succeeded in forcing the centre of his line: he retired behind the small canal which runs from Bulsam, to Steenkirk. The loss sustained was about fifteen hundred in killed and wounded, among whom were many gallant officers. The enemy, however, was supposed to have suffered in a greater degree. His royal highness sent two battalions of Hessians to general Walmoden's support; but, finding that aid to be ineffectual, he was reduced to the necessity of collecting his whole force, by abandoning the position he had taken near Dunkirk. Thirty-two of the heavy guns, and part of the stores provided for the siege, were left behind, there being no possibility of carrying them off. The French were commanded by general Houchard.

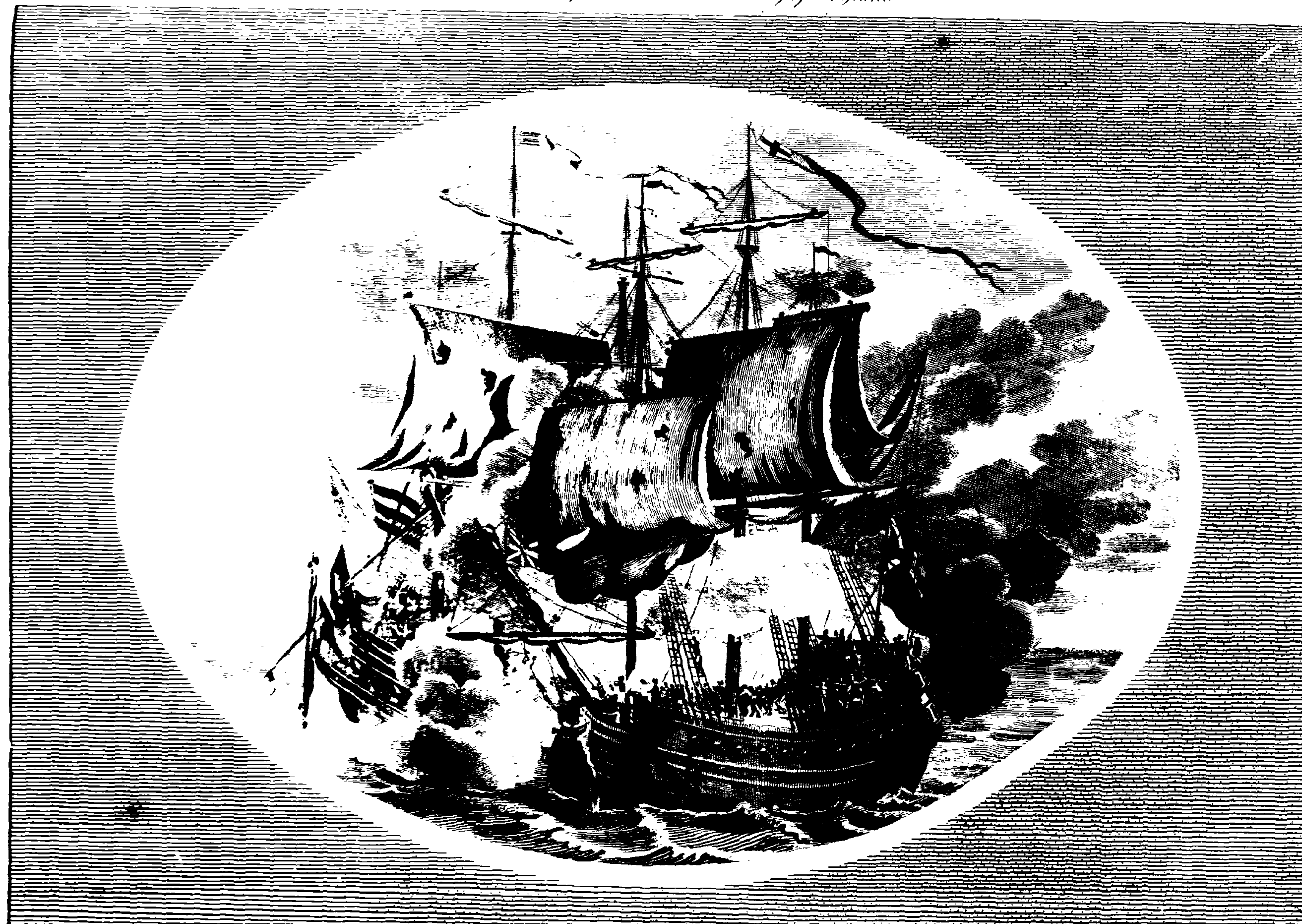
It may not be immaterial to observe that, in the retreat on the night of the 6th of September, his royal highness's prince Adolphus, and the field-marshal, were for a short time in the possession of the enemy. A patrol of cavalry, which ought to have been in the front, having taken another road, they went into the village of Rexpoede, through which one of the columns was to pass, but which was then occupied by the enemy: his royal highness was slightly wounded with a sword on the head and arm. From this situation his royal highness and the field-marshal were relieved by the intrepidity and presence of mind of general Walmoden, who, upon discovering the enemy were in possession of Rexpoede, had immediately collected a body of troops,

attacked them without hesitation, and defeated them with great slaughter.

About this time advices were received from admiral lord Hood, commander of his majesty's ships and vessels employed in the Mediterranean, that an intercourse had taken place between his lordship and the commissioners from Toulon and Marseilles; and by subsequent accounts it appeared that a treaty relative to Toulon was brought to a conclusion; and on the 28th of August, lord Hood's fleet landed fifteen hundred men, and took possession of the batteries at the mouth of the harbour. The French fleet hawled into the inner road; and on the 29th the British fleet and the fleet of Spain, which joined the same day, anchored in the outer road of Toulon. Several Declarations and Proclamations were issued by lord Hood on this occasion, which are much too numerous and verbose to obtain a place in our History.

On the 16th of October, 1793, was guillotined at Paris, in her 38th year (being born November 2, 1755) Marie Antoinette, the beautiful widow of the late French king Lewis XVI. She was archduchess of Austria, and sister to Leopold II. late emperor of Germany, to the present queen of the Two Sicilies, and to the present duchess of Parma, and was married to the king of France in 1770. This unfortunate princess had been condemned on the preceding day, by the Revolutionary Tribunal, as "Guilty of having been accessory to, and having co-operated in, different manœuvres against the liberty of France, of having entertained a correspondence with the enemies of the republic; of having participated in a plot tending to kindle civil war in the interior of the republic, by arming citizens against each other," and of other crimes, too horrid and ill-founded to be here mentioned. When the sentence of the Revolutionary Tribunal was read, the queen cast down her eyes, and did not afterwards lift them up. "Have you nothing to reply, upon the determination of the law?" said the president to her. "Nothing," she replied. "Nor you, her official defenders?" "Our mission, (said they) is fulfilled, with respect to the widow Capet." The execution took place at half an hour after eleven o'clock in the forenoon: the whole armed force in Paris was on foot, from the Place of Justice to the Place de la Revolution: the streets were lined by two very close rows of armed citizens. As soon as the queen left the Conciergerie, to ascend the scaffold, the multitude, which had assembled in the courts and streets, cried out Bravo! in the midst of plaudits. Marie Antoinette had on a white loose dress, and her hands were tied behind her back. She looked firmly round on all sides. She was accompanied by the deposed curate of St. Landry, a constitutional priest; and on the scaffold preserved her natural dignity of mind. The assassination of Lewis XVI. had prepared us for that of his unfortunate consort. The unworthy treatment which she experienced in the prison of the Conciergerie, when she was confined in a damp and loathsome room, seemed the fore-runner of her execution.

Towards the latter end of November, the French opened a considerable battery, on the height of Arenes, against Toulon, and the allied troops, by misunderstanding their movements, were obliged to quit a post they had acquired in great disorder and with considerable loss. Lieutenant-general O'Hara, who was involved in the consequence of this mistake, was wounded in the arm and taken prisoner. Many gallant officers suffered upon this occasion. After several other disasters here, Lord Hood sent intelligence to England, dated *Tillory, Hieres Bay, Dec. 20, 1793*, that he had been obliged to evacuate Toulon, and to retire from the harbour to that anchorage. Ten of the enemy's ships of the line in the arsenal, with the mast-house, great storehouse, hemp-house, and other buildings, were, however, not totally destroyed; and, before day-light, all his majesty's ships, with those of Spain and the Two Sicilies, were out of the reach of the enemy's shot and shells, except



The Cleopatra French frigate taken by the Symphe commanded by Captn. Pellon, after an Action of fifty five Minutes.

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except the Robust which was to receive captain Elphinstone, and she followed soon after without a shot striking her.

On the 21st of January 1794, his majesty went in state to the house of Peers, and opened the session of Parliament with a gracious speech, in which favourable mention is made of the advantages gained, upon the whole, by the allied armies; and that the temporary possession of the town and port of Toulon had greatly distressed the operations of the enemy. He recommends a steady perseverance in so just and necessary a war, on our part, till it shall be terminated by an honourable and permanent peace. His words are, "It only remains for us to persevere in our united exertions: their discontinuance or relaxation could hardly procure even a short interval of delusive repose, and could never terminate in security or peace." He farther said, "Although I cannot but regret the necessary continuance of the war, I should ill consult the essential interest of my people, if I were desirous of peace on any grounds but such as may provide for their permanent safety, and for the independence and security of Europe."

An address of thanks to his majesty for his most gracious speech, was moved by the earl of Stair in the House of Lords, and lord Cliefden in the House of Commons. The earl of Guildford proposed an amendment to the former, and Mr. Fox to the latter; but, on a division, the address was carried by 97 against 12 in the Upper House, and by 277 against 59 in the House of Commons.

The following melancholy accident which happened on the evening of the 3d of the following month, seems entitled to the notice of the historian. In the crowd attempting to get into the Little Theatre in the Hay-market, a poor woman was thrown down: the people kept pushing forward, and some others were also pushed down by the crowd, but many very suffocated and pressed to death as they were standing. The pit lying lower than the threshold of the door leading into it, a step was necessary to be descended. Hence the mischief arose; for the persons who were the unfortunate sufferers, either not knowing any thing of this step, or being hurried on by the pressure of the multitude behind, fell down; while those who followed immediately were, by the same irresistible impulse, hurried over them. The scene which ensued may be more easily conceived than described; the screams of the dying and the maimed were truly shocking, while those who were literally squeezing their fellow-creatures to death, had it not in their power to avoid the mischief they were causing. It seemed incredible that so many should have been killed in so short a space of time: seven bodies, completely lifeless, were carried to the house of a Druggist next door to the theatre; some to the shops of other medical gentlemen; and the remainder to St. Martin's Watch-house to be owned. This melancholy accident was not generally known in the theatre till late in the evening; and was kept from the knowledge of their majesties (who were in the house) till the play was over. Exclusive of these lamented victims, who were most of them in respectable situations, near twenty others suffered material injuries in bruises and broken limbs.

The West Indies now demands attention; by a letter from Sir Charles Grey to the Rt. hon. Henry Dundas, dated *Fort Royal, Martinico, March. 25, 1794*, intelligence was received at the Court of St. James's, that a complete conquest had been made of the Island of Martinico; the last and most important fortrefs of Fort Bourbon having surrendered to his majesty's arms at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 23d of the same month. Very few men were killed or wounded in this enterprize. The garrison of Fort Bourbon, amounting to nine hundred men, marched out prisoners of war, laying down their arms on the parade of Fort Royal, and were embarked for France immediately. His majesty's troops, having marched in, struck the French

and hoisted the British colours, and changed the name from Fort Bourbon to that of Fort George.

His Royal Highness the duke of York, with the armies of the combined powers, obtained a considerable advantage near Cateau on the 16th of the following month; and, on the 22d, the hereditary prince of Orange made a general attack upon the posts which the enemy occupied in the front of Landrecies, and succeeded in getting possession of them all; and in taking by storm their intrenched camp, and a very strong redoubt which they had thrown up at the village of Eloques, within six hundred yards of the place.

The duke of York, in a letter to the Rt. hon. Henry Dundas, dated *April 26, Heights above Cateau*, says, "It is from the field of battle that I have the satisfaction to acquaint you with the glorious success, which the army under my command have had this day. At day-break, this morning, the enemy attacked me on all sides. After a short, but severe conflict, we succeeded, in repulsing them, with considerable slaughter. The enemy's general, Chapuy, is taken prisoner, and we are masters of thirty-five pieces of the enemy's cannon. The behaviour of the British cavalry has been beyond all praise!"

About the same time general count Kinkly, and major general Bellegarde, after driving the enemy with great slaughter from Prisches, pursued them as far as day-light would permit, and took from them twenty-two pieces of cannon.

General Clairfait received a check from the enemy at Moncron, and was forced to retire with the loss of some cannon and tumbrils; but to make up for this disaster, Landrecies surrendered to the duke of York on the 30th of April. His royal highness soon after repulsed twenty thousand of the enemy near Tournay, taking from them thirteen pieces of cannon and four hundred prisoners. A few days after, the Island of St. Lucie surrendered to his majesty's forces, under the command of Sir John Jervis, K. B. Guadaloupe and its dependencies soon followed the example, and surrendered to the British arms. To retaliate for this, however, the republican troops gained a considerable advantage over the duke of York near Tournay in the beginning of May; but towards the conclusion of the month, general count Kaunitz attacked the French army which had passed the Sambre, defeated them, and obliged them to pass in great confusion over the river. The enemy lost near fifty pieces of cannon, and above five thousand men, three thousand of whom were taken prisoners: the loss of the Austrians was inconsiderable.

The fate of Madame Elizabeth, the ill-fated sister of Lewis XVI, ought not to be passed over in silence: she fell a victim to the sanguinary system of republicanism on the 10th of May. She was followed to the scaffold by twenty-five persons, condemned at the same time; but was not suffered to fall under the edge of the fatal axe, till the heads of all her fellow-sufferers had been struck off. That amiable princess did not suffer for any crimes of her own, but for the offences of others which were falsely imputed to her. The Revolutionary Tribunal itself considered her death as a political necessity. Having ascended the scaffold, she immediately cast up her eyes to heaven, and, prostrate on her knees, and wringing her hands, demanded of the King of kings that fortitude which the horrors of her situation had rendered so necessary. Having continued in prayer till the moment when she was to submit her head to the ensanguined instrument, she advanced with perfect resignation, with a kind of heroism inspired by religion, and perfectly submissive to the decree of providence. Though she bled the last among her twenty-five fellow-sufferers, she displayed a courage and fortitude superior to any of them. Thus died the virtuous Elizabeth Philippina Maria of France, after having lived, with a most spotless reputation, thirty years and seven days.

But, to return to the ravages of War. Marshall Mollendorf, on the 14th of May, surprized the French

in their entrenchments near Mayence, and defeated them with great slaughter. The French sustained a loss of one thousand killed, two thousand taken prisoners, eighteen pieces of cannon, and two howitzers.

The glorious first of June, 1794, rivetted the laurels on the brow of admiral earl Howe. The French force consisting of twenty-six ships of the line, opposed to his majesty's fleet of twenty-five, waited for the action, and sustained the attack with their customary resolution. A bloody engagement ensued, which our limits will not permit us to relate circumstantially: it terminated, however, to the honour and advantage of Great-Britain, whose matchless efforts were singularly victorious. Captain Montague was the only officer of rank who fell in this action; but admiral Graves received a wound in the arm; and the rear-admirals Bowyer and Paisley, and captain Hutt, of the *Queen*, had each a leg taken off. The names and forces of the French ships captured by lord Howe, are *La Juste*, 80 guns; *Sans Pareille*, 80; *l'Amerique*, 74; *l'Achille*, 74; *Northumberland*, 74; *l'Impetueux*, 74; the *Vengeur*, 74.

An account of the surrender of Bastia, and consequently of the whole island of Corsica, was received from lord Hood during the time of the general joy for lord Howe's success upon the ocean.

On the 16th of June, the hereditary prince of Orange attacked and defeated the French army, which had again passed the Sambre, and took a position near Josselies, in order to cover the siege of Charleroi, before which they had begun to open trenches. The enemy's loss was about seven thousand men, twenty-two pieces of cannon, and thirty-five ammunition waggons, besides horses and baggage. A succession of disastrous events on the part of the combined armies more than over-balanced these advantages; but intelligence of the surrender of Port au Prince, in the Island of St. Domingo, operated as a kind of cordial to the drooping spirits of the British nation.

The scene on the continent soon after became truly calamitous: the French, after obliging the duke of York to abandon the thoughts of getting possession of Dunkirk, that scene of inconceivable disasters, rapidly became masters of the whole of the Austrian Netherlands; and not only menaced the Dutch Netherlands, but even Holland itself. Fort Fleur d'Épée and Fort à Petre, at Gaudaloupe, and afterwards Gaudaloupe itself, were also at that time retaken, and in the hands of the French. A defeat at Drutin, near Nimeguen, on the 9th of October, 1794, when the British troops were attacked by about thirty thousand men, was another very distressing circumstance.

The nation was consoled, however, by the following event. A Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, between the king of Great Britain and the United States of America, was signed on the 19th of November by the Rt. Hon. Lord Grenville, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, being duly authorized for that purpose on his majesty's part, and the hon. John Jay, envoy extraordinary from the United States of America, having like authority on the part of the said States.

In consequence of bills found by the grand jury at Hicks's Hall, several persons were tried, in the course of the months of November and December, for High Treason. Thomas Hardy, standing foremost on the list, first put himself on the Justice of God and his Country, and, after a very long and deliberate investigation, was acquitted on the 5th of November: John Horne Tooke, Thomas Holcroft, and most of the others accused of similar offences, were also successively acquitted, and many of them discharged from imprisonment. Edward Watt, who, on a prior charge of High Treason, had been convicted, was executed at Edinburgh, on the 15th of October preceding.

The approaching new year was preceded by fresh misfortunes: By dispatches received from general Walmoden, and lieutenant-general Harcourt, dated Arnheim, December 20, it appeared that on the 27th, the enemy, consisting of about sixteen thousand men, made a successful attack on the Bommel Waert, and the Fort St. Andrée, from which the Dutch forces were obliged to retreat to the lines between Gorcum and Gurlenberg. The enemy, on the same evening, crossed the Waal, and took a position at Thuil, Wetleren, and Wartenberg.

The republican troops, taking advantage of the frost, frequently crossed and recrossed the Waal, harassing and distressing the combined troops beyond measure; almost every enterprize terminating in their favour. A series of successes on the part of the French, joined to the cordial reception they received from the inhabitants of the Dutch towns which they took possession of, encouraged them to proceed with alacrity, and they soon became masters of the Seven United Provinces of Holland.

On the 20th of January, 1795, his serene highness the Stadtholder arrived in England, having come over in a bye-boat to Harwich. The prince slept at Colchester. His majesty, on receiving this intelligence, ordered one of his attendants, and some of his messengers to repair to Yarmouth, to escort her serene highness and her family to London. Some of the royal carriages were also sent down thither, for their accommodation. At the same time Baron Nagel, and the hon. Mr. Elliot, set off for Yarmouth, to pay their respects to the prince.

The number of emigrants taken in Holland is said to amount to ten thousand, whose fate is not at present ascertained. The Anti-Stadtholderian party, formerly known by the name of patriots, are entrusted solely with the public functions, and all the ancient magistrates are deposed.

The French Commissioners at the Hague issued a proclamation, dated January 27, 1795, in which they declare that, taking into their consideration the wants of the republican armies of the North, of the Sambre, and of the Meuse, and the necessity of supplying them with the objects of subsistence, supplies of provision and cloathing, of which they have occasion, in the countries where they are established; wishing to avoid the means of particular requisitions, and the intervention of subaltern agents, they think it most agreeable to address themselves to the States General, and formally invite them to supply them, in the space of one month, with the following quantities, viz. twenty thousand quintels of wheat, avoirdupois weight, five millions of rations of hay; twenty thousand rations of straw; five millions of bushels of corn; one hundred and fifty thousand pair of shoes; twenty thousand pair of boots; twenty thousand coats and waistcoats; forty thousand pair of breeches; one hundred and fifty thousand pair of pantaloons; two hundred thousand shirts; and fifty thousand hats. And to be delivered further, within two months, twelve thousand oxen. These different objects were to be delivered at Thiel, Nimeguen, and Bois-le-Duc, at three different times. The Dutch army, which consisted of fourteen thousand men, is entirely disbanded, but the greatest part of them entered into the French service.

As this History was proposed to be continued down to the period of the publication of the last number, we cannot omit mentioning two circumstances, concerning which the public is now much agitated;—the appearance of approaching discord in Ireland, and the celebration of the nuptials between his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and a Princess of the House of Brunswick. That both these prospects may terminate happily, is the earnest prayer of every loyal subject of Great-Britain.

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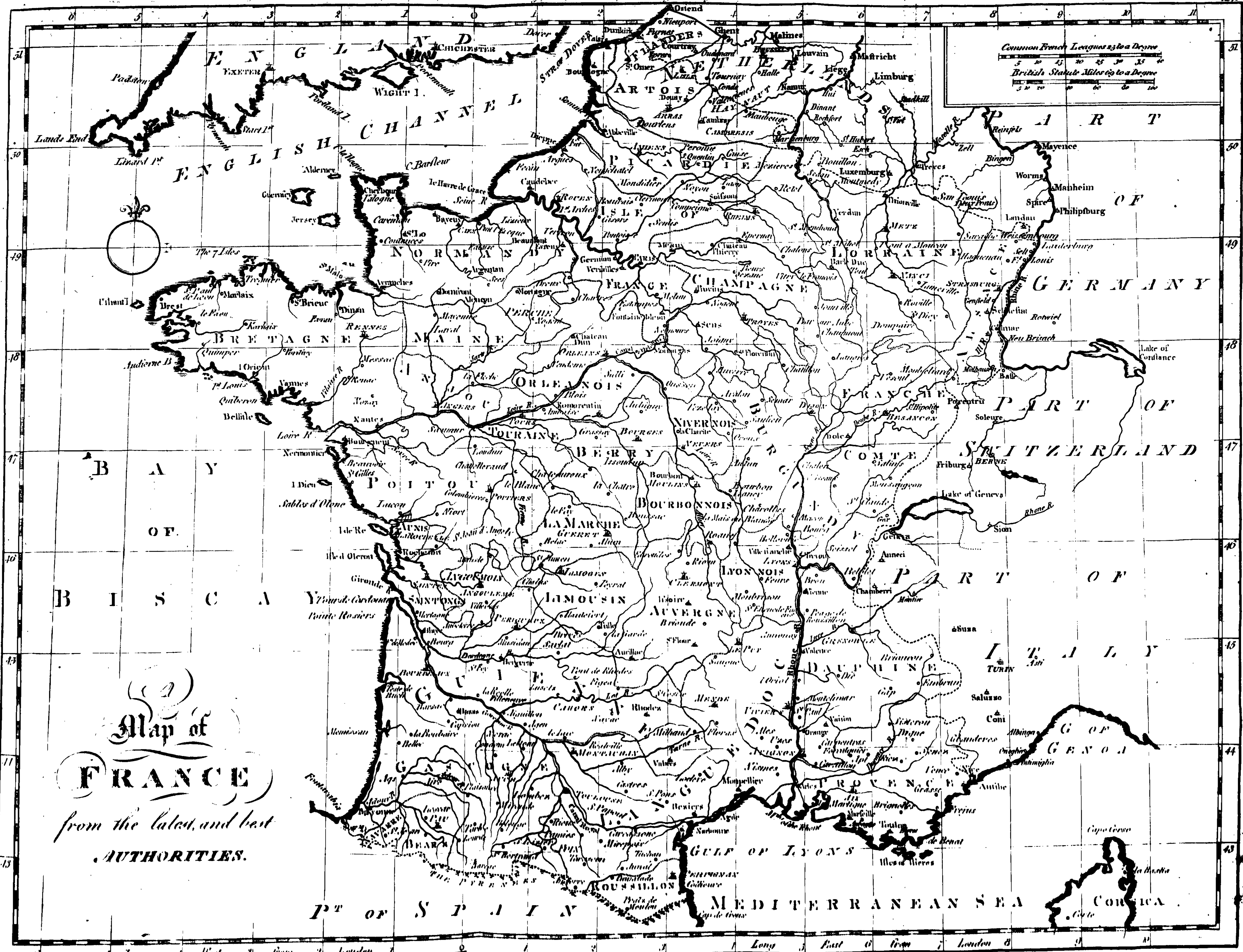
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Common French Leagues 2 1/2 to a Degree
British Statute Miles 69 to a Degree

Map of
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